

SCOTLAND, BRITAIN,
EMPIRE



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Writing the Highlands, 1760–1860

KENNETH MCNEIL



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INTRODUCTION

In May of 1778, a group of twenty-five expatriate Scots met at the Spring-Garden Coffee-House where they agreed to form the Highland Society of London. Their principal aims were the restoration of the Highland dress; the preservation and cultivation of Highland music, literature, and language; the establishment of institutions devoted to aid Highlanders such as Gaelic schools, churches, and asylums for Highland children orphaned upon the death of their soldier fathers; honoring the achievements of Highland regiments; and, lastly, the promotion of agricultural improvement in the Highlands.¹ The society, which inspired imitators in Scotland—an Edinburgh society, modeled after the London one, was formed in 1784—and continued to thrive well into the nineteenth century, both reflected and helped foster the public interest in the Highlands and the belief that the Gaelic culture of the Highlands held a distinct place in the life of the nation. The society encouraged the collection and preservation of Gaelic manuscripts, gave out prizes in Gaelic poetry, and organized the first-ever piping competition, which was held in Falkirk in 1781 and which continued annually afterward. In addition, the society advocated for a chair in Gaelic literature at the University of Edinburgh, worked to produce a Gaelic dictionary, and was a keen promoter of James Macpherson's translations of Ossianic poetry. The society's influence is demonstrated by its successful efforts to introduce a 1782 bill to repeal the law proscribing Highland dress, as the bill's sponsor—the Marquis of Graham—was first approached by a society committee composed of members influential in parliamentary circles. In all its endeavors, the society sought to bring Highland culture to the forefront of Scottish national culture. In doing so, the society provided a focal point for what had been a keen but diffuse interest in Highland culture among antiquarians

and historians since publication of the first fragments of Ossianic poetry in 1760. The Highland Society was a key force in disseminating, institutionalizing, and popularizing ideas about the Highlands in the Romantic era, but its efforts also were bound up wholly with the ways in which its members struggled to come to terms with the increasing complexity of national identity in the time period. Through their enquiry on the Highlands, members of the Highland Society sought to define themselves as Scots and as Britons in an age of empire. Writing on the Highlands, of which the output of the Highland Society was an early and influential contributor, is a key Scottish component of the consolidation of nation and empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The nationalist impetus behind the Highland Society and the critical link its members made between the preservation of Highland culture and the continued viability of Scottish national identity are made clear in Sir John Sinclair's address in June 1804 to a joint meeting of the Highland Societies of London and Edinburgh: "Observations on the Propriety of Preserving the Dress, the Language, the Poetry, the Music, and the Customs of the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland." In his opening remarks, Sinclair, influential MP from Ulster and compiler of the exhaustive *Statistical Account of Scotland* (Walter Scott's characterization of him as "the Great Caledonian Bore" notwithstanding), laid out the motives for preserving the culture of the Highlands, pointedly linking this aim with the continued viability of a Scottish identity:

Scotland, considering its population and extent, has made a distinguished figure in history. No country in modern times, has produced characters more remarkable for genius, valour, or ability, or for knowledge in the most important arts of both peace and of war; and though the natives of that formerly independent, and hitherto unconquered kingdom, have reason to be proud of the name of *Britons*, which they have acquired since the Union in 1707, yet surely, they ought not to relinquish on that account, all remembrance of characteristic dress, language, music, or customs of their ancestors. If in these respects they become totally assimilated to the English, Scotland becomes completely confounded in England, whilst its inhabitants at the same time can claim no peculiar merit from old English valour, virtue, literature, or fame; whereas if they consider themselves not only as Britons, *but as Scotchmen*, there are many circumstances, connected with more the more remote, and even modern periods of their history, *which they can recollect with enthusiasm*. (3–4; emphasis in original)

Sinclair's opening address is worth quoting at some length because it encapsulates, both in substance and syntax, the shifting, even contradictory uses of Highlandness through which urban, educated Scots, in a variety of texts and contexts, negotiated the new imperatives of cultural difference in an age of national consolidation *within* Great Britain but also of imperial expansion *beyond*.

This book is an attempt to examine more deeply the complexities of identity and difference that are visible in Scottish writing on the Highlands. This writing comes out of the context of the anxieties of a Scottish elite negotiating the tensions of nation and empire in a time when British imperial expansion abroad—and consolidation at home—called for a new understanding of the relation between Scottishness and Englishness, between Scottishness and Britishness, and between Britishness and an imperial Otherness. The expression of identification with the Highlands demonstrates a nationalist desire to elide Highland/Lowland difference in order to assert a distinctive Scottish identity within a “multinational” (but also outwardly imperial) Great Britain in which Scots and English nevertheless find common ground. At the same time, this identification, particularly as it works to valorize Highland traditions as uniquely *Scottish*, stands alongside imperialist constructions of the Highlands as “Other” than, and distinct from, the realm of the modern, civil nation. Indeed, as much previous critical study of the image of the Highlands during the Romantic era has made clear, it is the very fact of the primitiveness of the Highlands that underpins its use as exemplar of Scottish difference par excellence. Situated at the very nexus of nation and empire then, representation of the Highlands shifts constantly between Self and Other, making visible the ambiguities, tensions, and ruptures in the formation of national and imperial subjectivities.

The conflicted position of the Highlands within the discourse of nation and empire is revealed in the contradictory aims of the Highland Society. On the one hand, the preservation of Highland traditions, language, and literature serves a two-pronged cultural nationalist agenda that works against Scotland's absorption into an Anglo-dominated Great Britain, within the context of acquiescence to the political status quo of British union. As Sinclair's address makes clear, continued Scottish difference—and the synecdochial identification between Scottish and Highland traditions that grounds this assertion—sits within a framework of “Britishness” that enunciates the common allegiance of Scots *and* English. In this respect, Sinclair's remarks echo the aims of other antiquarian/historical societies in Ireland and Wales, which, independent of any political aims, sought to preserve the

distinctiveness of national culture by preserving its material artifacts. The institutionalization of preserving societies, John Hutchinson writes, signals the crystalization of cultural nationalist efforts to identify and valorize the authentic wisdom encoded in the distinctive linguistic, literary, religious, and political culture of their ancestors while “pleading for a rejection of the destructive English images of the . . . past” (48). The work of the Highland Society therefore parallels its counterpart in Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, which, Hutchinson writes, in addition to becoming an important focal point for legitimizing Gaelic scholarship, branched out far beyond academic circles as many of its members were involved in political debates concerning the welfare of Gaelic-speaking peoples of the time.² Rather than calling for a change in Scotland’s political status, cultural nationalists like Sinclair struggled to articulate an idea of Britishness that neither subsumed nor displaced Scottishness but instead was a composite of several constituent national identities. Later critics, pathologizing the shifting doubling allegiance this stance requires, have seen in it the symptoms of the general malady of post-union Scotland, a “cultural schizophrenia,” marked by tensions of internal linguistic divisiveness between a native organic language of the hearth and synthetic cosmopolitan one of polite society.³

On the other hand, the promotion of agricultural improvement in the Highlands, an aim of the Highland Society that is not explicitly addressed in Sinclair’s opening remarks, seems to contradict the preservation aims of the society. Informed by Scottish Enlightenment theories of natural history and political economy, which would diverge in the nineteenth century into the separate field of historiography and the emergent fields of sociology and anthropology, writing on the Highlands reiterated a set of assumptions. Highlanders dwelled within only recently accessible mountain strongholds far from towns and cities, spoke a peculiar affective language, adhered to tribal allegiances based on kinship, adopted the warlike habits of a patriarchal society, and lived a life largely unchanged since the days when the Romans failed to conquer them. In the Scottish Enlightenment stadial theory of human development, Highlanders were an anachronism, a people on the first rung of the ladder of social progress, sharing affinity with other contemporaneous “primitives” around the globe while living adjacent to, and sometimes venturing into, the civil space of the modern nation.

Traditional Highland agricultural practices—and the social relations that were supported by them—therefore were deemed both archaic and inefficient and in desperate need of reform. “Improvement” meant championing the benefits of draining boglands and the proper uses of manures on soils and of certain forages for livestock, but it also meant new systems of land tenure, rents, and distribution to maximize production and profitability. Sin-

clair, founder of the British Wool Society and the Board of Agriculture, was a leader in advocating and implementing improvement in the Highlands and was credited with introducing the Cheviot sheep breed, which he developed on his own estate in northeast Scotland in the late 1780s, into the Highlands. The foundation of semipublic, government-sponsored institutions such as the Wool Society and the Board of Agriculture, which attempted to shape agricultural practice by providing financial incentives and disincentives to landowners, amounted to an unprecedented consolidation of state control of land management and is indicative of the improvers' disregard for preexisting land-use practices in the Highlands. The transformation of both the landscape and the social fabric of the Highlands was, of course, profoundly dislocating and felt most strongly among small property owners and tenants. These people were least able to adapt to the new demands of agrarian capitalism, which tied the Highlands to market forces far from the region. As the Highland economy became integrated into the increasingly globalized British imperial economy, it became sensitive to shifts in markets, not just in Scotland or England, but in North America and Asia as well.⁴

Improvement entailed not the preservation of traditional Highland ways, but their total negation.⁵ Further, the discourse of improvement was part of an imperial epistemology that reordered the landscape figuratively and literally, absorbing and erasing indigenous land and cultural practices around the globe. Indeed, as Highland integration into imperial economy parallels those of other colonial spaces coming under British control, so too do the efforts of the Highland Society to bring improvement to the Highlands parallel the work of other institutions serving British imperial aims, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in 1784 (the same year as the Highland Society of Edinburgh), whose work Edward Said has argued made it a founding institution of Orientalism (78).

The Highland Society's desire to reshape the Highlands, to erase its difference in the name of a universalized set of assumptions as to what constitutes national "progress," seems to fly in the face of the *identification* with the Highlands that underpins the society's nationalist aims to preserve Highland traditions as Scotland's own. Yet the society's desire to improve the Highlands must also be seen in the context of eighteenth-century pro-union Scottish writing as to the necessity and benefits of *self-improvement* to effect more fully the equal partnership between Scotland and England within Great Britain. The call for Highland improvement betrays peculiarly Scottish anxieties as to the nation's own relative "primitiveness" in relation to their more "advanced" southern neighbor.⁶ Thus the aims of the Highland Society to improve the Highlands was a natural outgrowth of the work of previous Scottish "gentlemen's 'improving' clubs" that sought to modernize not only

Scottish agricultural practice but the Scottish character as well. Scots of a generation before had sought to purge their own language of “impurities” and Scotticisms, to forge a new kind of “metropolitan identity” in order to take better advantage of the new economic possibilities of union.⁷ Early in his career, Sinclair had made his own contribution to this project, penning *Observations on the Scottish Dialect*, published in London in 1784, in which he argued that “new manners must be assumed, and a new language adopted” before Scots achieved full access to new opportunities of union in the metropolis (quoted in Crawford 24). Scots like Sinclair saw Highland improvement as integral to the project of achieving a unified Great Britain in which all of Scotland would be able to contribute fully in its success. Indeed, Sinclair always linked improvement with the general increase of prosperity throughout the Highlands, and, as his son records in the father’s memoirs, Sinclair’s dying words expressed his “warm attachment” to the people of the Highlands, whose well-being, he regretted, was “so imperfectly provided for” (2:389). More than simply an instrument of Anglo-directed colonialism, the ideology of improvement reflects the vexed attitude of urban English-speaking Scots like Sinclair, who internalized and identified with the “primitiveness” the Highlands exemplified: On the one hand, they zealously seek to preserve or to recover that part of themselves they feel is becoming lost forever, and on the other hand, they obsessively seek to reform that same part, which represents for them the vestige of a Scottish savagery.

The Highlander thus became the most oft-cited example of the primitive in Scottish writing, a subject both familiar and relatively accessible. Malcolm Chapman writes that it must be regarded as “fortuitous that the intellectual world of the larger society became interested in the primitive at a time when the Highlander was peculiarly suited for the role, in a way that neither, say, the Lothian peasantry, who were too close, nor the South Sea Islander, who was too far away, could approach” (*The Celts* 20). Proximity underlies the ambivalence of Scottish attitudes toward the Highlands, as the Highlander is the primitive who occupies a spatial and cultural position that is far yet not *too* far. The space between Self and Other is inscribed onto the very geography of the nation, on the Highland/Lowland border, which is the site of repeated “border” crossings. The Lowlander goes up to the Highlands to pacify and to improve the natives but also to travel, trade, and intermarry. In turn, the Highlander comes down from mountain strongholds to do the same in the civil space of the south. That the Highland and Lowland worlds occupy different stages of development but overlapping spaces *within* the nation complicates Benedict Anderson’s theory of a national community that moves “calendrically through homogeneous, empty time” (26). Instead the nation is staged as a series of cul-

tural encounters that are analogous, but not reducible, to simultaneous encounters in imperial spaces elsewhere.

The complex negotiation of identity and difference in writings on the Highlands constitutes a form of colonial ambivalence akin to, but of a different order than, the ambivalence that postcolonial critics such as Homi K. Bhabha have identified in colonial discourse. Bhabha has argued that as colonial discourse poses a colonial subject that is “at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible,” it reveals its desire for a “reformed, recognizable Other, as a *subject of difference that is the same but not quite*” (235). Bhabha sees in the “ironic compromise” of colonial mimicry an ambivalence that threatens to undermine the certainty of colonial discourse. In Scottish writings on the Highlands, the primitive becomes constitutive of the nation, both as its Other but also as its Self, and the shifting stance between the two terms at work in Highland representation parallels the dynamic of ambivalence of colonial discourse that Bhabha describes. The doubling of the Highland subject, however, works to much different effects, as writing on the Highlands could be said to be as much “nationalist” as it is “imperial.” Applying Bhabha’s terms to the cultural contingencies of the Highlands, one could say that Highland discourse reflects the desire to constitute a recognizable Self as a subject of *sameness* that is *different*, but not quite.⁸

NATIONALISM AND COLONIALISMS (INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL)

The significance of writing on the Highlands as a site for the Scottish negotiation of national identity in an age of empire, particularly in the context of Scottish reaction to the post-1707 consolidation of British union, has been the subject of much recent criticism. For example, Murray G. H. Pittock traces the use of Highland imagery and tradition in Scottish Jacobite resistance to the union. Such elements, he argues, are later appropriated and reformulated by Walter Scott, who effectively emptied Jacobite ideology of its political force, rendering it, and the Highland culture with which it was inextricably linked, a harmless sentimental remembrance of times long past (*Invention* 82–90). Colin Kidd acknowledges Scott’s persuasive association between the Highland way of life and a Scottish nostalgia in the context of the work of the Scottish literati “subverting Scotland’s past” and adapting an English Whig historiography (247–68). Kidd suggests that although Scott was sometimes enamored of the “romance” of the Jacobite Highlands, the ideological impetus behind all his writing was whiggish rejection of the past and acceptance of progressive possibilities of Anglo-Scottish union.

Both these studies are invaluable in tracing the role of the Highlands within the rise of narratives of the nation and the consolidation of the European nation-state, which Benedict Anderson has charted. For Anderson, the nation is an “imagined political community,” a community whose members “felt a deep horizontal comradeship” with others whom they might never know or meet.⁹ The cultural work of the Highland Society and the novels of Walter Scott give shape to the idea of the nation by infusing its presence with a sense of shared traditions and history, a shared past. In addition to the analyses of Pittock and Kidd, which focus on the role of the Highlands in the formation of Scottish national history, a large alternative body of analysis situates the Highlands within the process of the “internal colonialism” of Britain’s “Celtic fringe”—Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. As the varied regions of the world came under the hegemonic sway of global capitalism in a “world system,” they become integrated in a hierarchical relationship in which the metropolitan “core” transforms the “periphery” into the site of raw materials for its production and consumption. As Michael Hechter writes, the core overwhelmingly dominates on both an economic and cultural front; the periphery has no power to resist or even defer the core’s relentless onslaught.¹⁰ The Highlands are therefore doubly peripheral, as the region early on becomes subjugated to Anglicizing forces first emanating from Lowland Scotland and then, more completely, from an imperial London. Peter Womack neatly sums up the hegemonic effect of internal colonialism on the Highlands: “The Highlands are subordinated to the sign-system of the metropolis not on the basis that the latter is superior, but on the basis that it is inescapable. You don’t have to prefer it, because it is in any case coercive” (167).

Yet the Celtic-fringe model of British imperialism has come under recent fire from critics such as Linda Colley and Robert Crawford, who argue that British culture was not simply imposed on Celtic peripheries by an English core.¹¹ Colley, in her analysis of British identity formation within the context of the prolonged war efforts against France, suggests a more dynamic interplay between disparate cultures within Britain. She argues that sense of common British identity came into being “above all in response to conflict with the other” and although it was superimposed on an array of preexisting identities, such as Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, it did not supplant or obliterate them (6). Crawford has criticized the Celtic-fringe model more insistently, pointing out the ways in which the Scottish “periphery” took an active role in the construction of “British” literature and culture. In a work that both describes and advocates a “devolved” rather than a “centralist or totalitarian” Anglocentric approach to the subject of English literature, Crawford suggests that “for centuries the margins have been challenging, interrogating, and

even structuring the supposed ‘centre’” (7). Crawford, like Colley, posits a dynamic, multicultural model of Britain that emphasizes the two-way influences between core and peripheral cultures that allow internal minorities both to effectively resist and help shape national culture. Yet if, both works allow for a useful rethinking of the Celtic fringe, neither work fully accounts for the uneven power relations *between* cultures within Great Britain. If it is possible to argue that British culture did not simply emanate from the core, it also must be said that not all members of the varied population groups of Britain had equal voice in the production of British culture.

Postcolonial studies such as those by Ian Baucom, Simon Gikandi, and Nigel Leask bring to light the role that external colonialism and the colonial text have in shaping notions of Britain and Britishness.¹² For example, in his analysis of the imperial “anxieties” that informed constructions of the East in the Romantic era, Leask summarizes the crucial role of expansion beyond Britain’s shores in determining ideas of Britishness:

[O]ne cannot simply speak of imperialism in this period as a moment of historical crisis for the civic ideology of a preconstituted nation state. It is not as if an “originary” civil discourse, developed within a cohesive metropolitan community, was subsequently brought into crisis by its misprision within a colonial or imperial context. [R]ather . . . national culture was much a product of imperial expansion, as imperialism was the “expression” or exportation of that culture. (86)

Leask’s argument is suggestive in describing the ways in which the formation of ideas of nation and empire are mutually constitutive. Moreover, his synchronic reading of cultural dominance within and outside of Britain allows for a rethinking of a binary model of colonial discourse. Leask writes that British imperialism produces a triadic structure of “this,” “that,” and “the other” in which the Celtic periphery “that” is co-opted by the imperial center and so occupies a middle ground between “this” and “the Other.” This triadic structure allowed Scots, anxious about their own cultural marginalization, to displace their sense of inferiority onto, for example, an East or West Indian Other.

Leask’s displacement theory is suggestive in its accounting for the complexity of the relation between internal and external marginalized cultures. Leask’s account, however, like those of other postcolonial critics, tends to elide the cultural divisions within Scotland itself and risks oversimplifying the relation between internal and external colonialism, reducing it to one of a simple chronology in which the former precedes the latter and serves as a kind of imperial “warm-up”: Peripheralization establishes colonial institu-

tions and frameworks that would be writ large on a global canvas.¹³ Instead, the economic transformations taking place in Britain's "peripheries" reflect the anomalous condition of cultures subject to the dynamics of both external and internal colonialism. The ambivalence at work in writings on the Highlands reflects the *overlapping* chronologies of British imperialism in the Romantic era, which takes place on multiple fronts and in multiple locations both inside and outside the space of the nation. More than an expression of displacement, Scottish attitudes to these processes were much more conflicted and ambiguous, a product of the conflicted nature of Scottish participation in the imperial project.

SCOTTISH EMPIRE

Colley neatly sums the importance of empire in defining Britishness by pointing out that "though the English and the foreign are still all too inclined today to refer to the island of Great Britain as 'England' . . . at no time have they ever customarily referred to an *English* empire."¹⁴ If the idea of empire is central to the formation of British national feeling it is also the case that empire shaped distinctive national identities within Great Britain. For literate urban Scots, imperialism was a prominent element in the acceptance of the British union from its inception upon passage of the Act of Union in 1707. With the failed 1690s Darien expedition still part of the Scottish collective memory, collaboration, not competition, with England seemed to provide the only path toward imperial success. Even before the actual achievement of union, the idea of empire set the terms of Scottish participation in the consolidation of the British statehood, as many Scots accepted the loss of political autonomy in return for something that would prove more beneficial to the nation in the long run: access to new overseas markets and the wealth of empire. Moreover, as empire seemed a field of play upon which Scots and English were equally skilled, cultivating this field would therefore ensure Scottish-English parity within Great Britain. Far from a fortuitous by-product of Scottish acquiescence to an Anglo-dominated Great Britain, empire and "empire building" instead became a way to reassert Scotland's greatness. As T. M. Devine writes, by the nineteenth century,

Empire-building was depicted as something peculiarly Scottish and as the fulfillment of a national destiny. Scottish talents had been displayed on the global stage through the contribution of the nation to the development of the greatest territorial empire on earth. The British empire did not dilute the

sense of Scottish identity but strengthened it by powerfully reinforcing the sense of national esteem and demonstrating that the Scots were equal partners with the English in the great imperial mission. (*Scottish Nation* 289–90)

Further, though it is true that Scots served in the British military in disproportionate numbers, it cannot be said that Scotland simply provided the military muscle for an English imperial brain.¹⁵ By the mid-eighteenth century, Scots themselves had established trading posts throughout the colonial world, in Asia, the West Indies, and North America.¹⁶ Also, by midcentury, Scots gained greater access to the empire through ministerial appointments and the patronage system, both of which opened the door to imperial administrative posts in which they could play a more active part in developing and implementing imperial policy.

Perhaps the greatest of late-eighteenth-century Scottish imperial figures, Henry Dundas—president of the Board of Control of the East India Company (EIC) from 1793 to 1801 (and member of the Highland Society of London)—increased the Scottish presence within the EIC’s administration. So great was Dundas’s success in securing positions for Scots that his efforts prompted much derision.¹⁷ Dundas not only secured the livelihoods of Scots in India, he was also a strong general advocate of imperial expansion, and his biographer Michael Fry suggests that Dundas’s attitudes in shaping Britain’s imperial policy were peculiarly “Scottish,” as his methods were informed by the Scottish Enlightenment historiographical, anthropological, and sociological theories of his Scottish education. Thus, as an enlightened Scot, Fry writes, Dundas “could both universalise his own conceptions and apply them sympathetically to . . . alien conditions” (115).

A government minister whose prestige and success were premised on acceptance of union, Dundas saw his work not as capitulation to English interests but as a way “to complete the Union” on Scottish terms (Fry 128). If Scotland therefore could be said to have played a central role in shaping the transformation of places and cultures that came under British control, the riches of empire had a profound effect on Scottish life: from the opulent houses that ringed Glasgow, financed by the immense profits of the tobacco trade, to the house and lands design schemes of the Scottish Nabobs, whose newfound Indian wealth assisted in transforming the Scottish landscape. As Devine points out, much of the funds devoted to improvement, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, derived from this new imperial source of wealth. Acknowledging Dundas’s influence in transforming both Indian and Scottish culture, the Earl of Rosebery wrote, “He Scotticised India and Orientalised Scotland” (quoted in Fry 111).

The formative role of Scotland in shaping the British Empire has become increasingly the subject of scholarly interest, but any analysis of Scottish society during the rise of empire must also recognize the anomalous position of Scotland, which was the *only* European nation that—despite its unprecedented industrial and imperial expansion—continued to bleed the population at consistently high levels. Between the 1820s and World War I, some 2 million Scots emigrated, putting Scotland in the same league as Ireland in terms of emigration rates per capita (Devine, *Scottish Nation* 468). Throughout Britain's imperial age, Scottish society was marked by a profound and constant dynamism, as dislocation and migration, both external and internal, conditioned the lives of many Scots. While acknowledging his success, Walter Scott lamented that Dundas had made the EIC's Board of Control "the corn chest of Scotland where we poor gentry must send our younger sons as we send out black cattle to the South."¹⁸ What David Lloyd says of colonized Ireland's culture might equally be said of Scotland's as it "plays out the anomalous states of a population whose most typical experience may be that of occupying multiple locations, literally and figuratively" (3).

That much of this immigration originated in the Highlands reflects the social and economic disruptions that continued to plague the region and which seems driven by the dynamics of internal colonization. Yet again the chronology of Highland emigration complicates the idea that colonization proceeded apace first in the Celtic fringe and only afterward expanded outward. For example, though historians identify the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a time when Highland emigration intensified (Eric Richards reports that between 1770 and 1815, more than ten thousand Highlanders left for North America alone), this exodus marks only the first phases of the Highland Clearances (*Highland Clearances* 64). Even more dramatic rates of migration took place throughout the nineteenth century—in the 1820s, 1840s, and 1850s—only to subside in the late 1880s after passage of the Crofters' Act, which secured land tenure for many rural Highlanders. The fact of continuous emigration and clearances throughout the era of "external colonialism" points to the simultaneous processes of empire at work both inside and outside the nation. Indeed, at the same time that Dundas, as director of the EIC, was looking ever outward to consolidate British imperial interests, he made sure also to cast his attention inwards, to the Highlands. Concerned with increasing rates of Highland emigration, for example, Dundas, as director of the British Fisheries Society, promoted the development of a fishing industry in the Highlands.

The overlapping chronologies of Scottish development schemes in India and the Highlands exemplifies the complicated dynamics of imperialism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and suggests that a simple

opposition between internal and external colonialism cannot account for the imbrications of British imperial culture. Instead, the synchronicity of imperial expansion in its early phases, taking place inside and outside the nation, produced multiple “flows” of an imperial culture moving from one locale to another, which makes for some surprising cross-pollinations as imperial culture moves back and forth between nation and colony. For example, the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was founded in 1709 with the aim of “propagating Christian Knowledge especially in the Highlands and Islands where Error, Idolatry, Superstition and Ignorance do most abound” (quoted in Withers 120). Yet as early as the 1730s the SSPCK had expanded its mission field, becoming active in North America and working to convert Native Americans. Missionary work in the Highlands did not simply precede such work in the British colonies proper but instead paralleled it. The SSPCK’s experiences on both sides of the Atlantic often overlapped and influenced each other. Experience in administering among “natives” in the Highlands and North America helped shape the SSPCK’s overall attitudes toward the indigenous cultures with which it worked. Over time, Donald Meek observes, the SSPCK grew increasingly tolerant of certain aspects of native culture, particularly native language, in the effort to achieve its aims.¹⁹ At the same time, close contact and interaction between Native Americans and newly arriving Highland settlers allowed missionaries to observe them together and to draw parallels between the two “primitive” cultures in their reports back to Scotland. A “North Atlantic circuit,” Meek writes, “drew Highlanders and Indians together in the thinking of the SSPCK” (“Scottish Highlanders” 387).

The transperipheral flow of imperialism brought Scots (both Lowland missionaries and dispossessed Highland immigrants) and Native Americans into new proximity, prompting observations of supposed affinity between Gaels and North American natives that would later reach their formal apogee in the comparativist writings of Scottish Enlightenment theorists. Highlighting such moments of transnational or transperipheral exchange in the work of the SSPCK is not to suggest that imperial attitudes toward Highlanders and Native Americans are roughly equivalent. Rather, such moments of exchange suggest that if a key feature of imperial culture is its ability to reproduce itself when transported from the metropolis, it is also the case that the local context in which imperial culture establishes itself transforms it, making it similar to but never exactly the same as imperial culture “back home.”

Critics such as Katie Trumpener and Janet Sorensen emphasize the synchronicity of internal and external colonialism and the importance of transperipheral and transnational conduits of cultural exchange. Trumpener, in

her masterful account, describes the rise in the Romantic era of a “bardic nationalism” on the peripheries, which reconceives “national history and literary history under the sign of the bard” in response to increasing English political and cultural dominance.²⁰ This anti-imperialist bardic nationalism, Trumpener argues, was later appropriated and reformulated, particularly by Walter Scott, to consolidate an imperial *British* identity that was again reconstituted, and once again capable of articulating resistance to imperialism, when transported to the colonial site. Sorensen’s concern is with imperial theories of language and grammar, and her work provides a useful reanalysis of the internal colonialism model, which she suggests is insufficient to chart the transnational character of British linguistic culture in the eighteenth century. She reveals how imperialism does not simply establish a core/periphery relation between regions but also *within* regions established along class and gender divides.²¹ Although both Trumpener and Sorensen devote much of their analysis to the Scottish example, they also draw on a wide canvas that covers the interactions between peripheral cultures and the dominant English culture.

This study follows the lead of Trumpener and Sorensen, and I take up their suggestion that it is impossible to read formation of national and imperial consciousness in Britain as an isolated phenomenon. I, however, focus my analysis on Scottish writing in the Highlands because the colonial ambivalence that these writings make most clearly visible derives from the unique historical conditions in Scotland that produced a professional elite, which assumed a central role in shaping British imperial attitudes while simultaneously feeling the increasing dominance of English political and cultural influence. The ambivalence of the Scottish negotiation of difference reflects the anomalous condition of a minority culture seeking to transform itself into an imperial one.

HIGHLAND HISTORY: SEARCHING FOR THE REAL

The tensions and contradictions inherent in the Romantic vogue for all things Highland have not gone unnoticed by historians of the subject. Indeed, contradiction and paradox are insistent themes of some of the most influential recent histories. John Prebble, in several notable works, traces what he characterizes as the paradox of Highland history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: While so-called Highland traditions, history, and poetry were feted in polite societies from Edinburgh to Moscow, the rural Gaelic-speaking people of the Highlands systematically were evicted from their lands and homes—forced to choose between star-

vation or relocation to the coasts, service as cannon fodder in the army, or emigration to the colonies.²² Prebble's work consistently emphasizes the gap between Highland myth and Highland reality, employing ironic juxtaposition to highlight the disparity.²³ Thus, the paradox of Highland history is brought dramatically into high relief through the employment of a satisfying, if unsettling, use of tragic irony, a mode of narrative that has structured many other Highland histories and that informs the popular understanding of that history today.²⁴ Hugh Trevor-Roper's deployment of irony in his landmark study on the invention of the "Highland Tradition of Scotland" is more sardonic than tragic, as he proceeds to demolish the idea that ancient Highlanders wore differentiated tartans affiliated with their respective clans. Thus, far from adopting the garb of the ancient Gael, contemporary kilt-wearing "Scots and supposed Scots from Texas to Tokyo" are merely the victims of skillful marketing by nineteenth-century Scottish textile firms ("Invention of Tradition" 41). For both of these very influential historians of the Highlands, irony operates to help make sense of the contradictions embedded in Highland history—to resolve these contradictions by exposing the underlying reality behind the tartan facade. In doing so, these accounts posit a self-contained "organic" cultural formation, an ideology, in which all aspects of the Highlands are integrated. Through the use of irony, historians of the Highlands establish an oppositional relation between a coherent romantic myth that they seek to dismantle and a similarly coherent truth that they will thereby uncover.²⁵

Such an oppositional framework structures one of the most detailed recent analyses of representations of the Highlands, Peter Womack's *Improvement and Romance*. In his work, Womack begins by pointing out the seeming tension between a body of writing that on the one hand seeks to effect a transformation of Highland land use and on the other seeks to celebrate the Highlands as a special preserve of ancient values and traditions unmarred by the modern world. Highland "Romance" thus seems to appear as a counter-ideological formation to "Improvement," but Womack discounts this possibility. Instead, "as their symmetry suggests," he writes:

the conflict [between these oppositions] is illusory. Rather, it is the ideological function of the romance that it removes the contradictory elements from the scope of material life altogether; that it marks out a kind of reservation in which the values which Improvement provokes and suppresses can be *contained*—that is, preserved but also imprisoned. (3; emphasis in original)

Thus the contradictions of Highland representation are not contradictions

at all but aspects of a dialectic, dominant Highland myth that, once it is born in the mid-eighteenth century, operates to overwhelm and subsume any resistance to its assumptions.

While my own discussion of ambivalence is indebted to accounts of Highland myth such as Womack's, I have also tried, for several reasons, not to resolve too easily the contradictions, disjunctures, and ambiguities of Highland representation by reading them in a totalizing framework or to reduce them to the elements of tragedy. For one, myth analyses reduce the role of Highlanders to that of passive victims in their own history, who offer only futile resistance to the juggernaut of Highland myth.²⁶ More crucially, these analyses not only risk oversimplifying the complex dynamics of difference at play in writing on the Highlands, they also, by establishing a dualistic opposition between "truth" and "myth," tend to replicate the binarism of the dominant discourse they are seeking to challenge. For example, Womack downplays the question of truth in his analysis, instead emphasizing the material effects of Highland myth. Nevertheless, in his concluding remarks Womack suggests that "as we reach reflexively for the hatchet of the demystifier," we "pause on reflecting that the possibility which the myth cherishes and deforms—that beyond the complementary abstractions of Improvement and Romance we could discover an authentic way of living together—is not yet conclusively either discredited or achieved" (180). In his evocation of an "authentic" way of life obscured by the desires and demands of dominant culture, however, Womack, like many contemporary Highland historians, places the Highlands outside the realm of modern culture altogether—"out there," shrouded in a mist of our own making.

My aim, however, is neither to expose myth nor to pose an alternative authentic history of the Highlands. In the first place, the dynamics of identification and difference at work in writings on the Highlands problematizes the very notion of a fixed, stable Highland culture, distorted or not. It cannot be said that the Highlander straightforwardly occupies the position of colonial victim, given that many Highlanders themselves were active agents in the colonial project, not only in the roles of settler and soldier, but in those of administrator, business agent, and investor. Perhaps even more so than other Scottish elites, the Highland gentry saw in imperialism access to increased wealth and status not available to them at home. Highland myth analyses fail to account for their participation in the imperial project.

For another, these analyses also fail to account for the internal contestations that mark Highland *self*-representations. In contrast, Sorensen has provided a glimpse into the internal division *within* Highland culture in her reading of ambivalence in the work of Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair.

She notes that Mac Mhaighstir contributed to the SSPCK's English literacy efforts in the Highlands, yet his experience and work teaching English literacy paradoxically provided the theoretical and practical underpinnings for his creation of a new "Gaelic national linguistic identity" in later writing in Gaelic (50). The complexities surrounding imperial linguistic and literacy theory as put to use in the Highlands, Sorensen argues, reveals the transnational dynamics of Highland culture in the eighteenth century.

I want to take up Sorensen's suggestive analysis of Highland culture but, shifting the focus away from issues of literacy and grammar, add another dimension to the examination of divisions in Highland culture by looking at ways in which transnational dynamics played out in the work of Highlanders writing *in English*. For example James Macpherson, the "translator" of Ossianic poetry and historiographer of the ancient Scots, whom I discuss in chapter 1, was pivotal in popularizing Highland literary traditions, which were then brought into the service of Scottish cultural nationalists. Born and raised in the Highlands, Macpherson was old enough to witness firsthand the violence of British soldiers during the military crackdown after Culloden and was keenly aware of the systematic assault on Highland culture. Yet, as Fiona Stafford has brought to light, Macpherson's writing was also influenced by his education at the University of Aberdeen, where he was a member of the second generation of students to come under the influence of the theories of Thomas Blackwell—Greek scholar and early appraiser of "primitive" cultures—who argued that Homer's poetic genius was precisely a function of the rudeness of his society. In later life, Macpherson settled down in London, working as a hack writer for the North government and constantly seeking patronage and influence in the EIC. He finally landed "a lucrative position as the London agent of the Nabob of Arcot."²⁷

Tracing the trajectory of the career of Highlanders like James Macpherson, moving "inward" into the realm of Highland literary tradition and "outward" to London in the service of the British Empire, reveals an ambiguous relation to imperialism. Perhaps the most illustrative example of the contradictory energies of "imperial" Highlanders is the career of Sir John Macgregor Murray of Lanrick. Macgregor Murray, who eventually became chief of the Clan Gregor, spent most of his life as an army officer in the service of the EIC and as auditor-general in Bengal. Nevertheless, Macgregor Murray was an active member and contributor to the cultural work of the Highland Society. For example, he was instrumental in saving what proved to be the earliest extant treatise on piping. After the author died of fever in Bengal after the voyage out, Macgregor Murray brought the work back on his return to Scotland (Black, "Gaelic Academy" 6). Macgregor Murray

also provided most of the funds to pay for a sumptuous edition of Ossian's poems in Gaelic. In short, wealth derived from imperial conquest was put into the service of zealously preserving traditions of Highland culture perceived to be under threat back home. As Ronald I. Black sums Macgregor Murray's achievement, "[H]e put the riches of India into Gaelic scholarship"; or, as a contemporary said of him, "[H]e was a Highland chieftain elevated by Oriental ideas" (7).

The efforts of Macpherson and Macgregor Murray implicate Highlanders in the Scottish negotiation of nation and empire, as these men exemplify a Highland elite that was actively engaged not only in the imperial project but in shaping the image of the Highlands. To highlight the Highland backgrounds of these writers, therefore, is not to suggest that their assumptions are more truthful or more authentic than non-Highlanders (such as Walter Scott, for example) and therefore to privilege them. Nor is it to deny the traumatic dislocation and cultural dispossession suffered by the rural Highland populace, which has inspired a large body of cultural expression. It is, rather, to suggest that the divisions of British imperial society *cut across* cultures and are often a function of class and gender, as the question of who "speaks" for the Highlands is often one of access to sites of production.²⁸ The shifting and uneven relations of power in an imperial age require that we pay attention to the multiple locations in which Highland writings are produced, from within the Highlands themselves, the expatriate communities in London (and in Glasgow), and even military and administrative outposts in the colonies.²⁹

Like the writings of non-Highlanders, writings of Highlanders do not paint a uniform picture of the Highlands but instead produce a shifting and sometimes contradictory impression. However, at the same time, these works often pose alternative emphases and conclusions, or serve alternative political purposes. In the works of writers from the Highlands, such as Macpherson, David Stewart, and Anne Grant (who was born in Glasgow but lived in the Highlands for thirty years), one can trace a more insistent awareness and articulation of cultural loss, and with this, a clearer statement of resistance to changes in Highland society and culture. Recent critics have identified the liminal role taken up by Lowland writers like James Boswell and Walter Scott, who mediate or translate Highland culture for their English-speaking readers.³⁰ But it is important to recognize that this mediating role is often taken up by Highlanders themselves. The predicament of bilingual Highland writers writing in English to a largely English-speaking audience, as they try to negotiate between and across the cultural divide, makes for a unique body of writing that bears closer scrutiny.

Lastly, I do not wish to overlook the contested ground on which Scots struggled in the first place to delineate the boundaries of “Highlandness.” Indeed, the ambiguity surrounding the very definition of who is a Highlander is illuminated in the efforts of the founders of the Highland Society of London to set the terms of membership eligibility. Originally, as Sinclair writes in his *Account* of the society, membership was limited to “[n]atives of the Highlands resident in the metropolis,” but as the club increased in popularity and scope—and as the year-to-year lists of members reveal—“not only Natives of the Highlands, but . . . several respectable characters from other parts of Scotland, from England, and even foreign countries, took a pride, a pleasure, in belonging to the Society.” Sinclair describes this transformation not as a corruption of the society’s original criteria but as an inevitable evolution, given the society’s awareness of the difficulties in delimiting the “Highlands.” As Sinclair writes, “[I]t is attended with considerable difficulty, to define, with any degree of accuracy, the boundaries of what is, strictly speaking, to be called ‘*The Highlands of Scotland*’” (5). The difficulty that attended geographical delineations only paralleled delineations based on lineage: “The principal Families in the northern parts of the kingdom, are now so intermingled together, that under the general term of ‘*Descendants of Highlanders*,’ there are few Natives of Scotland who are not eligible to become Members of the Society” (5–6). Sinclair and the Highland Society would have it both ways: celebrating a distinct set of traditions, whose preservation is linked with the continuation of Scottish identity, while admitting no certain demarcation of the “Highlands” or even of “Highland” lineage which might exclude one from proclaiming himself or herself a “Highlander.” What is left then is a Highland identity emptied of any material substance and instead marked by a particular *attitude*: “The true qualification [of membership] is . . . not so much the distinction of ‘*Highland Birth*’ (though that is certainly desirable, and must always give a preference to the Candidate who enjoys that advantage), but the possession of a ‘*Highland Spirit*’” (6).

On the one hand, the society’s changing membership criteria reflect the increasing difficulty in finding anyone left from the Highlands to wear the tartan in the ceremonies and revelries of the society. On the other hand, this shift to ownership of “Highland Spirit” as final determiner of membership is not only indicative of the fluidity by which “Highlandness” already signified as “Scottishness” in the early nineteenth century, but also suggests that lettered Scots like Sinclair and the members of the society were aware of, and accepted, the contingent, shifting complexity of their own identity.



In what follows I do not attempt an exhaustive history of writing on the Highlands, which would require much more space than I have devoted here. Yet if I do not attempt a history, I have attempted a historicist reading of my subject, framing it within the development of British national and imperial consciousness in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as this development conditioned the form of my subject and its rise to popularity. In this I depart from previous accounts which have traced a smooth evolutionary trajectory of a romanticized Highlands, which, once it is launched, remains stable and unchanging, orbiting implacably over the Highlands to the present day. Instead, I wish to situate the negotiation of identity and difference in Highland writing in the context of what Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen have described as the unique “rhythms of continuity, change and disjuncture” in the literary history of Scottish Romanticism.³¹ As these critics recently have described, Scotland is a critical site for the invention or production of “‘Romanticism’: not in itself but always as part of a larger political, economic, and cultural geography, encompassing not only ‘Britain’—London, Northern England, Ireland—but Europe, North America and an expanding world—horizon of colonized and dominated territories” (10). I also follow in the footsteps of Davis’s work on British national identity formation in which she describes the formation of Britishness as a dialogic process: Ideas of nation/empire are articulated through competing and often fractious cultural contestations and negotiation.³² In situating my work in the context of these critics, I hope to emphasize the imperial dimension of Scottish literary culture and the ways in which the cultural formation of “Romanticism” is allied with the formation of national and imperial cultures.

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on two moments of cultural debate *within* Scotland as to the role of Highlands in the nation’s post-union identity: that which surrounded the reception of James Macpherson’s translation of the poetry of Ossian in the latter half of the eighteenth century and that which attended Walter Scott’s overreliance on “Highland” pageantry during George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822. Both historical moments brought the question of cultural difference and national identity to the forefront, as the “primitive” became integrated into the national symbolic. In chapter 1, I focus on the reception of Ossian. Scots debated whether the poetry of Ossian and the Gaelic-speaking people that produced it could lay claim to being the literary and racial wellspring of the nation, yet the work’s status as a “double translation” disrupted the historiographical inquiry into the nation’s racial and linguistic origins, introducing an unreadable gap in the narrative of the nation. The persistence of this gap is evidenced by the work of the

Highland Society of Edinburgh, which sought in 1805 to “fix” once and for all the authority and meaning of Ossian. The society did so by subjecting Macpherson’s work to native Gaelic speakers in the Highlands who could speak to the question of its authenticity. Yet by relying on English *translations* of the testimony of these native speakers, the society only highlighted the recalcitrant ambiguity of the work.

Chapter 2 introduces the pervasive influence of the work of Walter Scott in popularizing the Highlands. Scott has long been criticized for popularizing an anachronistic, politically inert Highland version of Scottish national identity that signifies only in terms of the past. A case in point in this criticism is the heavy dependence on archaic Highland traditions and trappings during the Scott-orchestrated state visit of George IV to Scotland’s capital city. Scott’s pageantry was loudly condemned for its inappropriate “Celtification” of Scotland, which was seen to champion an outmoded Highland past while it ignored the role of progressive English-speaking, urban Lowland culture in the nation’s present. Examining Scott’s pageantry in tandem with *Rob Roy* (1817), his second novel of the Highlands, however, I argue in chapter 2 that both “works” reveal a complex and recognizably modern vision of national identity in an increasingly globalized economy. Rather than posing a nostalgic backward-looking vision of national identity, Scott in *Rob Roy* explores the ways in which the dynamic of economic and cultural exchange between individuals and across national and regional borders ultimately makes for more fluid notions of national and regional identities. Neither simply Highland nor Lowland, Scotland instead is revealed to be a space of circulation and exchange—of money, people, and blood. Scott seizes on the dynamic of blood circulating across the Highland line to envision a particularly Highland notion of collective solidarity, the tribal blood bonds of clan-ship. It is this notion of solidarity that Scott “enacts” in the ceremonies of the king’s visit, as Scots, Lowlanders and Highlanders alike, don the tartan and warm to the sound of the pipes. Chapters 1 and 2 both highlight the ways in which emergent ideas of race and cultural difference underpin national identity. Yet the work of both Macpherson and Scott reveal the instabilities of national identity, as the primitive comes to represent the nation.

Chapter 3 continues the analysis of Scott’s writing but shifts the focus to his interest in soldiering and the military. Specifically, I focus on Scott’s first novel, *Waverley* (1814), to examine the ways in which the image of the Highland warrior ties together notions of race and gender in the context of the nation’s military struggles against its Others, particularly Napoleonic France. I argue that the figure of the Highland warrior allows for a new imperial understanding of British military masculinities. This new under-

standing envisions not only a Highland man who is deemed naturally suited to a life of soldiering, but also a special breed of non-Highland commanding officers who, in order to bring forth the innate martial qualities of the Highland soldier, must assume the ethnographer's stance of acculturation, sympathy, and tolerance. My analysis of *Waverley* is paired with an analysis of David Stewart of Garth's influential, but relatively unexamined, *Sketches of the Highlanders* (1822). Stewart's *Sketches* continues the cultural work of *Waverley* of militarizing the Highlands, yet the work also offers a pointed critique of the disruptive reordering of land relations in the Highlands even as it trumpets the exploits of Highland soldiers in the service of Britain's empire. In this way, Stewart's work does not simply replicate the ethnographic stance of *Waverley*. Rather, in its insistent positioning of its author as a native of the Highlands he seeks to represent, Stewart's work examples a kind of "autoethnography," in the sense that Mary Louise Pratt uses to describe indigenous self-representation that engages with the terms of the colonizing culture. Yet Stewart's position as a wounded veteran of Britain's imperial struggles around the world complicates his status as colonized subject, as his portrayal of the Highlands and the Highland soldier both underpins and resists Britain's imperial project.

Chapter 4 continues the examination of the Highland military man, but traces his entry into a new arena of British historiographical writings on colonial warfare and the 1857 Indian Mutiny. The chapter focuses on the writing of former British military officers and the crucial role of the Highland "soldier-hero" in shoring up British resolve in the face of the profound challenge to colonial order during the mutiny. In mutiny historiography, the idealization of the Highland soldier is part of a racial script in which the figure is set in opposition to the fanatic native mutineer. At the same time, however, theories of Highland proclivities toward warfare, once these theories are transported to the colonial site, provide the foundations of martial race theory, which assumes that certain races of the subcontinent were better suited to the military than others. Martial race theory marks a return of the racial theories that underpinned the popularity of the figure of the Highland warrior in the first place. Yet the post-mutiny development of martial race theory illustrates the varied contexts and locations in which ideas about the Highlands serve varied national and imperial aims in a variety of cultural contexts. Assumptions about the Highlands therefore do not simply ossify after the Romantic era but continue to change in response to changing cultural circumstances, serving British strategies of cultural difference well into the Victorian age.

Chapter 5 highlights this adaptation in an analysis of the Highland writings of Anne Grant and Queen Victoria. The increasing accessibility of the

Highlands in the late eighteenth century allowed for a new genre of writing on the Highlands: women's travelogues. While adopting the historiographical assumptions of the Scottish Enlightenment, Grant's diaristic account *Letters from the Mountains* (1806) also provides an alternative vision of the Highlands than those of previous writers in this study: Grant's Highlands are the space of both the exotic primitive and an idealized, domestic "home." By anchoring her own identity within this space while reserving for herself the distanced authority to record it for an outside audience, Grant creates a new kind of imperial subjectivity: of one "not absolutely a native nor entirely a stranger." It is this liminal subjectivity that Victoria also fashions for herself in the published "leaves" of her Highland diaries. By imagining herself as a "Highland widow," however, Victoria also creates an image of the British monarch that emphasizes the interconnection between periphery and empire, as the Highlands become the "heart" of her vision of imperial rule.

What I hope becomes clear throughout this examination is the role of the prodigious and varied body of work on the Highlands in shaping the Scottish contribution to notions of difference and identity in the Romantic era. Scots brought their own understanding of the dynamics of Self and Other to their writing, conditioned by the peculiar tensions and demands of a rapidly transforming national culture. The picture of the Highlands that comes into focus is not one of static isolation and backwardness but instead of inexorable dynamism, as Highlanders establish themselves in locations around the world, both as victims and agents of "Anglobalization."³³ The Highlands were brought into English-speaking consciousness under complex conditions of an imperial expansion traversing cultures, temporalities, and spaces. Therefore, as we struggle to come to grips with the complexities of the contemporary global order—which, Arjun Appadurai writes, "cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models" (296)—and as we are faced with a burgeoning array of terms to account for the postcolonial condition, it is vital that we examine the ways in which these complexities play out, not only in the aftermath of the British Empire, but at its beginning.



CHAPTER ONE

“Native Tongue”

Ossian, National Origins, and the Problem of Translation

I n his London journal of Saturday, December 11, 1762, James Boswell writes of breakfasting with one of the most well-known and celebrated Scots residing in the metropolis, James Macpherson. Only a year before, Macpherson had published *Fingal*, his six-volume “translation” of the poetry of Ossian. Dining with Macpherson, whom Boswell describes as “a man of great genius and an honest Scotch Highlander,” must have been particularly satisfying, as only a few days before Boswell had recorded an encounter with a vociferous anti-Scots prejudice:

At night I went to Covent Garden and saw *Love in a Village*, a new comic opera, for the first night. . . . Just before the overture began to be played, two Highland officers came in. The mob in the upper gallery roared out, “No Scots! No Scots! Out with them!” hissed and pelted them with apples. My heart warmed to my countrymen, my Scotch blood boiled with indignation. I jumped on the benches, roared out, “Damn you, you rascals!” hissed and was in the greatest rage. I am very sure at that time I should have been the most distinguished of heroes. I hated the English; I wished from my soul that the Union was broke and that we might give them another battle of Bannockburn. (71–72)

The vehemence of the London crowd and Boswell’s indignant display of patriotism in reaction are reflective of the atmosphere of heightened national sentiment in which expatriate Scots found themselves in mid-eighteenth-century London. The influx of Scots into the British capital and the increasing presence of Scots in prominent government posts produced a rabid anti-Scots backlash in the city. After the vicious attacks on Lord Bute,

the Scottish prime minister, and on Scots in general in the pages of John Wilkes's *North Briton* in the early 1760s, Scottish political writing of the era seemed increasingly on the defensive.¹ In this heated atmosphere of patriotic defense and counterattack, Scots like Boswell sought energetically for a distinctively Scottish national voice and found it in Macpherson's translation of Gaelic verse purportedly written by the blind third-century bard Ossian, the "Celtic Homer." Scottish Enlightenment figures such as Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson, John Home, and (initially) David Hume promoted the poetry because in Ossian's tales of great battles and great heroes, Scotland could lay claim to the ancient epic of Britain.² The call to promote Ossian became only more insistent when outside devaluation of the work increasingly took the form of doubts as to Macpherson's reputation as an "honest Scotch Highlander."

The poetry of Ossian and the debate as to its national merit or value reflect the prominent role Scots played in shaping Great Britain as well as the shifting and sometimes contradictory allegiances of Scots that recent critics have identified.³ For many, if Scottish political and economic energy were to be subsumed into Britain as a whole, then it was imperative that the nation's cultural and literary heritage remain intact. Thus, when Scots took up the cause of Ossian, they did so within the context of a strident patriotism that was nevertheless pro-union. Ossian therefore played a key role in establishing a Scottish model of British "identity-in-difference." By trumpeting Scotland's noble Gael, Ossian's supporters sought to "maximise difference," in Womack's words, by reminding Scots and the rest of Britain that Scotland remained a different nation still.⁴ This cultural—as opposed to political—nationalism, however, often staked its position on artifacts like Macpherson's translations precisely because its supporters had forsaken the assertion of Scottish autonomy in other areas of public life. Scotland's Gaelic epic was therefore brought to the stage of British culture as the embodiment of a unique kind of national ideal through which the unsullied voice of the nation's past spoke to its present to remind the Scottish people who they were, where they came from, and which direction they should be heading.

Moreover, as Macpherson's laborious and detailed historiographical notes to the poetry and his later exclusively antiquarian writings reveal, Ossian, both literary text and cultural artifact, provided irrefutable evidence that the Highland Gael was the originary "race" of the Scottish nation. As Colin Kidd has shown, the debate surrounding Macpherson's historiographical claims shaped British national identity through the consolidation of racial and ethnic categories.⁵ By the last decade of that century, which Gerald Newman has described as period of "rampant racialism," the

search for the racial origins of the nation became an antiquarian obsession (115–18). The arguments surrounding Ossian are thus an aspect of heightened interest in cultural and racial difference, as literary tradition, mode of government, language, and other sociological markers became identified with particular "races."⁶

From its earliest appearance on the cultural stage, the poetry of Ossian became the subject of increasing fascination and anxiety and the focal point upon which a national consciousness was given utterance in the language of a range of fields—historiography, philology, rhetoric and belles lettres, antiquarianism, and others. Yet Ossian's status as a *translation* of a Gaelic original posed significant problems for its nationalist supporters, problems which situate Ossian within the context of an alternative discourse, shaping an imperial consciousness in Britain. Only around the midcentury, as Womack remarks, was the Highland Gael converted from "uncouth savage" to Noble Savage, as a subject of Enlightenment inquiry into the nature of primitive society and of cross-cultural encounter, which was taking place increasingly around the world.⁷ In this context, Macpherson's translation work instances not simply a crucial example of historiographical inquiry into the nation's literary roots, but an imperial desire to know the Other, to convert the indigenous culture of the Highlands into a province of metropolitan thought, making it both accessible and available to imperial control.⁸ If Ossian did indeed represent the earliest and purest form of Scottish national expression, it did so in a language that was unintelligible to the majority of its citizenry. In order to understand the voice of its ancient bards, Scots paradoxically had to rely on the mediating voice of the translator. Through his knowledge of native language, Macpherson became the agent by which the indigenous culture of the Highlands was "opened up" to imperial expansion.

Helen Carr has argued that it is crucial to "map" representations of the primitive onto the particular ideological and cultural contexts in which it thrived in the eighteenth century. If so, the Scottish context complicates the notion that primitivism is a European discourse about non-European Others.⁹ For Ossian's Scottish nationalist supporters, the primitive, Gaelic literary traditions of the Highlands represented *the* authentic literary traditions of the Scottish people as a whole, as English represented a more recent migration of foreign influence from the south. Rather than reinforcing a Manichean relationship between Self and Other, Ossian instead represented a kind of rediscovered original authentic Self. By raising the Noble Savage to the status of the nation's cultural wellspring, Macpherson's translation disrupts the progress of linguistic and racial historiographies in the formation of British national/imperial consciousness.

In this chapter, I wish to trace the route of the Highlands' climb to popularity in the latter half of the eighteenth century and its contribution to ideas of nation by examining the ardent debate that followed Ossian's introduction onto the British stage. First I wish to rehearse briefly Ossian's contested initial reception and the debate between Scots and others within Britain as to the authenticity of the poems. Second, I wish to examine an intrinsic, but relatively unexamined, debate that took place *within* Scotland, a debate in which racial and linguistic theories and categories coalesced around the claims and counterclaims surrounding Macpherson's assertion that the original people of Scotland were Gaels. My focus here is on the antiquarian debate that involved Macpherson and John Pinkerton, Macpherson's most prominent Scottish opponent, who found Macpherson's claims both ludicrous and reprehensible. Lastly, I wish to address the problematics of translation, which continued to haunt Ossian's role as national artifact. I focus on the crucial part translation played in the great attempt to fix forever the literal and symbolic meaning of Ossian, the 1805 publication of the Highland Society of Scotland's exhaustive *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*. This final hoped-for "last word" on Ossian perhaps best reveals the ruptures and anomalies that continue to plague the debate. Bringing the full weight of late Enlightenment speculation to bear on the issue, the committee that completed the report cast its net far and wide in the Highlands, where it sought the testimony of the local Gaelic-speaking people to establish conclusively the authenticity of Scotland's own national epic. Yet unable to report the meaning of this testimony in its original language, the committee was forced to rely on translation and thus reinforced the cultural divide that separated the rural Highlands from the metropolis. As a "translation," both of orality into text and Gaelic into English, Ossian instances an unreadable gap, a blank space, into Scottish national culture. Ossian is a national text that the nation cannot read.

SCOTS VERSUS THE ENGLISH (AND IRISH AND WELSH)

The closely knit circle of Edinburgh literati (Richard B. Sher describes the group as a "cabal") who actively supported and encouraged Macpherson and his claims against his detractors all had their own special motives for doing so.¹⁰ Behind the peculiarities of their own agendas, however, lay a common motive of asserting Scotland's unique national traditions. Adam Ferguson, who was a strong advocate for an independent Scottish militia, found in

Ossian an example of Scotland's ancient martial tradition. Its ancient heroes were examples of great Scottish warriors, who could rally contemporary Scots to the militia cause.¹¹ Hugh Blair believed that Ossian was proof and demonstration of his theories on the development of language and literature through time. For Blair, Ossian was the ideal example of unaffected unadorned pure poetry. In his critical dissertation on the poems, Blair wrote that Ossian's poetry is "Poetry of the Heart," the natural product of a primitive society, which lacked the sophistication of the poetry of civilized society. Ossian's "heart" was one:

penetrated with noble sentiments, and with sublime and tender passions; a heart that glows, and kindles the fancy; a heart that is full, and pours itself forth. Ossian did not write, like modern poets, to please readers and critics. He sung from the love of poetry and song. (*Poems of Ossian* 356)

If Macpherson needed the authority of Blair to grant his translations legitimacy, "Macpherson's stuff was," as Blair's biographer puts it, "meat for Blair's theories" (Schmitz 45).

After publication of the *Fragments*, Blair and others promptly encouraged Macpherson to search the Highlands for more examples of Ossianic poetry. Financed by a group of interested supporters, Macpherson sent out in the summer of 1760 to search for and collect more manuscripts. The result was *Fingal*, published in December 1761. *Fingal* proved to be a much more ambitious work than the *Fragments*; indeed it was the Highland epic for which Macpherson's supporters had hoped. Rather than a collection of short and disjointed pieces that only hinted at a larger missing narrative, *Fingal* was a six-book behemoth held together "not by unified action or theme," as Stafford writes, "but by the presence of [its] narrator." This narrator was Ossian, son of the title hero, who recounts in the poem his father's journey from the "western coast of Scotland" to Ireland, where he defeats Scandinavian invaders led by Swaran. *Temora*, published in 1763, continues the saga of Fingal, as he seeks to reassert the heirs of Cormac, the king of Ireland, after Cairbar's attempt to usurp the throne.

Taking a stand on the work became a matter of Scottish pride and honor, and Ossian's supporters felt obliged to defend the work against a host of detractors from all corners of the British Isles, who, while complaining of the national chauvinism of the Scots, proclaimed their own scrupulous disinterestedness on the subject. Irish antiquarians were particularly incensed that Macpherson claimed that Ossianic tales were originally Scottish and had been imported later to Ireland, rather than the other way around.¹² Evan Evans, the Welsh translator and compiler of *Some Specimens of the Poetry*

of the *Antient Welsh Bards*, complained to his friend and fellow antiquarian Thomas Percy, “the Scots have made it a national affair, and therefore what they say in its plea ought to count the less” (quoted in Manning 44). In turn, Ossian’s Scottish defenders sought to expose the national prejudices of its critics. Blair, for example, in a letter to David Hume, defends the authenticity of the work while condemning its critics: “For my own part it is impossible for me to entertain the smallest doubt of their being real productions, and ancient ones too, of the Highlands. . . . Who but John Bull could entertain belief in an imposture so incredible as this?” (quoted in Schmitz 57). In a letter to Blair, John Macpherson, the influential Gaelic antiquarian and James’s namesake, locates the motive for Ossian criticism in the prejudicial tenor of the times and in the jealousy of “South Britons”:

I am not at all surprised that, at a time when the spirit of party, and national quarrels, are risen to such a height, the authenticity of Ossian’s poems should be called into question. The glory arising to our country and ancestors, from these noble monuments of genius, cannot miss to give pain to the malevolent in the southern division of the isle. (app. of *Report* 6)

English “malevolents” in these kinds of pronouncements serves, as it did in the Wilkes era, as the bugbear that menaces Scottish well-being but also allows the speaker to counter with an assertion of Scottish greatness in defense.

Ossian’s champions would have no greater example of English ill will than the celebrated commentary of Samuel Johnson. In his public and private utterances and in a detailed critique in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775), Johnson authoritatively judged Macpherson’s translations to be complete fakes and directly questioned the integrity of the “translator” himself. Johnson further attacked what he described as the “Caledonian bigotry” of Ossian’s Scottish supporters. With scathing irony, Johnson wrote in his *Journey*:

The Scots have something to plead for their easy reception of an improbable fiction: they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors. A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love Scotland better than truth: he will always love it better than inquiry; and if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the English to be much influenced by Scotch authority; for the past and present state of the whole Erse nation, the lowlanders are at least as ignorant as ourselves. (119)

Johnson's summary of Scottish national character in the *Journey* reveals the ease in which the initial literary terrain of the debate quickly shifted to one of national character. The summary also illustrates an underlying component of Johnson's argument. Though Johnson's primary stance is a legalistic one and concerns Macpherson's failure to furnish authoritative evidence of his claims—in the form of the ancient Gaelic manuscripts upon which his translation supposedly was based—Johnson's attack on the authenticity of the poetry also is grounded in anthropological assumptions that the primitive society from which the poems sprang was incapable of producing such epic poetry. Indeed, a close examination of Macpherson's appended and footnoted commentary in the work suggests that these are the very grounds upon which Macpherson himself defended the authenticity of the work. Not concerned primarily with the aesthetic merits of the work himself, Macpherson was more interested in what the work revealed about the society of the early Scots who created it.

Although Macpherson would establish his reputation as a writer with the publication of Ossian's poetry and although none of his later works would come close to matching Ossian's popularity or influence, it is arguable that Macpherson's long-term project was not literary but historiographical.¹³ Indeed, after the publication of *The Works of Ossian* in 1765, Macpherson never again devoted himself to poetry, and his later works are wholly devoted to developing his historiographical and political ideas. In *Temora*, after a dissertation that explicitly engages in the contemporary antiquarian debate as to the character of ancient Scottish society, Macpherson wrote that what makes the work "infinitely more valuable than Fingal is the light it throws on the history of the times" (xviii). Macpherson revealed his intellectual priorities by arguing that *Temora* is of greater value to the antiquarian and historian than to the rhetorician, and this is the stance that Macpherson consistently maintained throughout his textual commentary. With the publication of later editions of the poems, this commentary would become quite extensive. The 1773 new edition of *The Poems of Ossian*, for example, includes a lengthy dissertation on the "Era of Ossian" and the "Poems of Ossian" by Macpherson as well as Blair's critical dissertation. The work also includes Macpherson's lengthy and copious notes, which serve to illuminate the historical and cultural background of the poetry in intricate detail. Macpherson's translation of the poems proper therefore constitutes only one small component of a varied body of work in which Macpherson developed his ideas on the nature and origins of ancient Scottish society, and it is these ideas which would draw fire, not from English critics like Johnson, but from Scots.

ANTI-BARDIC NATIONALISM

Katie Trumpener has argued that Ossian is an expression of a particular mode of cultural nationalism formed on Britain's periphery in response to cultural imperialism that emanated from England. "Bardic nationalism" insists on the continuity between the oral past and literate present. For these nationalists in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the publication of Ossian's works restored a literary tradition of the bard, who spoke for and to his community. In place of the nation-as-text, these writers advocated the nation-as-spoken-word, emphasizing localized cultures and traditions now under threat. As Trumpener writes:

Scottish . . . nationalists conceive a new literary history under the sign of the bard, a figure who represents the resistance of vernacular oral traditions to the historical pressures of English imperialism and whose performance brings the voices of the past into the sites of the present. (33)

In this line of argument, the voice of Ossian still resonated across the Highlands for its nationalist supporters, and it was therefore the task of antiquarians like Macpherson to channel and amplify that resonance so that the rest of contemporary Scotland could hear it. In other words, "Macpherson's Ossian," Trumpener writes, "had turned the Highlands into one enormous 'echo chamber' evoking an emphatically oral world" (70). With absolute confidence in the universal benefits of English ways, however, Johnson's imperial ear cannot hear the voices of the past in the Highlands, only the insistent prattling of a handful of deceitful Scots, bent on promulgating a wishful fantasy for the "honor of their country." For Trumpener, Johnson's attack in the *Journey* on Ossian in particular and on the Gaelic-speaking culture of the Highlands in general represents his attempt to "establish the primacy of the cosmopolitan and imperial vision of Enlightenment activity over what it sees as Scotland's nationalist Enlightenment" (70).

By focusing on Johnson's attack on Macpherson's work, Trumpener, as do many other critics, reads the nationalist dimension of the Ossian debate along an English/Scottish fault-line. Such analyses, however, do not address the intranational dimension of the debate, which was no less fraught with contention and heated polemic. Though a large proportion of the Scottish literati, as we have seen, zealously took up the cause of Ossian, Scots were not united in their praise of Ossian, and many of Ossian's detractors *within* Scotland were as adamant as Johnson in opposing Macpherson's claims. Yet Macpherson's Scottish critics saw themselves as no less patriotic in attacking Ossian than those who supported it. Perhaps the most vociferous of

Macpherson's critics, John Pinkerton, was himself an antiquarian devoted to establishing the earliest cultural origins of the nation. At issue for Pinkerton was not the authenticity of the text, but Macpherson's larger historiographical claims as to the racial and cultural origins of Scotland. In his *Enquiry into the History of Scotland* (1789), Pinkerton establishes a lengthy counter-argument to Macpherson's ideas that Ossian represented the true voice of the ancient Scottish people. For Pinkerton, the roots of the nation lay not in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands but in the English-speaking Lowlands. Highlanders were merely late-arriving upstarts from Ireland and, as Celts, had shown themselves through history to be incapable of advanced learning or literature. Thus Pinkerton's vision in the *Enquiry* echoes that of Johnson's "cosmopolitan and imperial" enlightenment vision in the *Journey*, yet it does so to forward not an imperialist project, but a nationalist one that ironically affirms the backwardness of the Highland Gaels. Tracing the antiquarian debate between Macpherson and his Scottish detractors, like Pinkerton, complicates the picture of a univocal Scottish bardic nationalism prompted in reaction to an English imperialism. Instead the debate reveals the internal contestations that shaped Scotland's national identity.

Though the specifics of the antiquarian debate concerning Scotland's racial origins were particular to their local context, many of the assumptions underlying the debate were not. In Scotland, as elsewhere in Britain and Europe, the antiquarian search for the nation's "racial" origins was complicated by the ambiguity of racial assumptions, reflected in the general belief that the racial composition of the modern nation was "mixed," comprised of various races and peoples. Nevertheless, antiquarians sought to trace—through exhaustive and careful philological and historiographical research into the earliest fragments of recorded history—the shifting pattern of migration, settlement, and invasion and thereby uncover the originary race of the nation.

Scottish antiquarians' delving into the racial/linguistic origins of the nation therefore shaped new forms of collective identity and a heightened ethnic consciousness, which provided a greater sense of the nation's historical continuity. Yet the search for the nation's "volk" often necessitated a figurative expulsion of others. As Kidd writes, though the notion of a linguistically bifurcated Scotland can be traced to the late medieval period, the English/Lowland-Gaelic/Highland split became the focus of antiquarian debate only beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, as writers like Macpherson argued that the original Scots were a Gaelic-speaking people, and writers like Pinkerton argued that they were an early English-speaking "Gothic" people.¹⁴ The extent to which the debate heightened the sense of Scottish racial bifurcation, and the enmity between competing allegiances is

demonstrated in the sentiments of Hume, who, though an early advocate of Ossian, expressed his increasing skepticism to Boswell:

[I]f fifty bare-arsed highlanders should say that Fingal was an ancient Poem, he would not believe them. He said it was not to be believed that a people who were continually concerned to keep themselves from starving or from being hanged, should preserve in their memories a Poem in six books. (quoted in William Ferguson 244)

Hume's fit of racial prejudice perhaps reveals English-speaking anxiety about the extent to which Macpherson's Gaelic vision of Scotland's origins was gaining ground in the late eighteenth century.¹⁵ The polarity of the debate is significant both for its implications for the growth of Scottish nationalism and because it served to heighten rather than alleviate the Gaelic/English cultural tensions within Scotland. Pinkerton and Macpherson sought to overcome the problem of the Lowland/Highland schism by championing one group at the expense of the other. By "racializing" the opposition in Scotland between Lowland and Highland cultures, however, the debate between them served to harden the cultural divide: English and Gaelic speakers in Scotland were not divided just by language, it seemed, but by blood.

Though Macpherson first developed his ideas on the origins of ancient Scotland in fragments in his scholarly notes to the several editions of Ossian's poetry, he extended and systematized these ideas in *An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771), which represented Macpherson's attempt at an authoritative description of the origins of Scotland as well as the rest of Great Britain. Pinkerton had the luxury of publishing his major treatise, *An Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, several years after, developing his ideas on the origins of Scotland in a two-volume work. A 1794 edition of this work includes his *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths*, originally published in 1787. Pinkerton's work often makes its case in direct reference to Macpherson's work, yet both men seek to establish their work among the rarified culture of scientific objectivity and disinterestedness. Both men describe themselves as "enemies to fiction" in the area of antiquarian research. While claiming to have no agenda of their own but the search for truth, they attack the arguments of their detractors as the product of blind ignorance, motivated only by prejudice.

Both men begin their narratives proper in Europe during the Roman era and trace the earliest migration to Britain of the various peoples of northwest Europe. Macpherson divides these early Europeans into four races: the Celtae, Cimbri, Sarmatae, and the Slavi. The first to migrate to

Britain were the Gaels, a Celtic people who were gradually squeezed north by a succession of late-coming invaders. The first of these secondary invaders were the Cimbri, a Celto-Germanic people who settled in the west. Last came the Belgae, also representing a mixture of Celtic and Germanic blood, who settled in the south. Thus, the earliest ancestors of Britons were a Celtic people, Gaels. Further, it was the Gaels who settled in the region of modern Scotland. It was they who called themselves "Caledonians" and who were the original Scots. The other two races of Britain, the Welsh and ancient Britons respectively, lost much of their distinctiveness through the process Macpherson describes as the constant admixture of races caused by trade, migration, and invasion.

Macpherson refers to this process of admixture many times in the *Introduction*, and throughout it he emphasizes a continuous dynamic of "race mixing," as succeeding waves of invasion, migration, and trade made their mark on the racial makeup of early Europeans. Macpherson's understanding of race is therefore monogenetic—he assumes that the various races of man were genetically the same and that miscegenation is both inevitable and natural. In doing so, Davis argues, Macpherson lays the specific groundwork for a British union by emphasizing the common racial bonds of all Britons:

[The] Introduction suggests the consanguinity of Scots and English. The two nations share common blood. Their historical union in fact prefigures for Macpherson their contemporary union in Britain, effected as a result of the market system. Macpherson creates a basis for the contemporary union of Scotland and England by presenting a common culture of origin for both nations. (*Acts of Union* 86)

Common blood thus provides the groundwork for eventual communal economic interest. Against critics such as Murray G. H. Pittock—who suggests that Macpherson's overall sympathies were Jacobite and finds in Ossian a "coded nationalist language," alienated and revolutionary (74)—critics such as Davis argue that the *Introduction* and Macpherson's later history of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Hanoverian succession make clear Macpherson's pro-unionism.¹⁶

Yet if Macpherson consistently observes in the *Introduction* the forces of racial union at work through time, he also consistently privileges racial "purity" in his descriptions of the ancient Caledonians. He argues that race mixing is part of the natural order of the development of nations, and that "scarce any one people from the pillars of Hercules to the Tanais are free from a mixture of the three great original nations whom we have so often mentioned." Nevertheless, he claims that "there are regions in that vast

extent of country where the blood of each particularly prevails" (18). For Macpherson, the north of Scotland was just such a region. The Caledonian Gaels of Scotland were relatively protected from race mixing because of geographical hindrances that maintained their racial purity. Framing his ideas within a geographical determinism, which would be a feature of writing on the Highlands well into the nineteenth century, Macpherson argues that the mountainous terrain of the Highlands both molded the character of the people who settled there and effectively cut them off from the usual forces that promoted race mixing. The Cimbri, Belgae, and Caledonians who happened to dwell below the Highland line in the Lowlands gradually lost their racial distinctiveness, mixing with Romans and, later, Anglo-Saxons, which is reflected in the "impurity" of their language. Therefore, it is only in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands that one can find the ancient traces of the authentic Scots. In Macpherson's racial hierarchy, the Gael is the true original Scot, the "real McCoy." In his introductory dissertation to *Temora*, Macpherson makes this point succinctly:

[T]he inhabitants of the mountains of Scotland . . . differ materially from those who possess the low and more fertile part of the kingdom. Their language is pure and original, and their manners are those of an ancient and unmixed race of men. Conscious of their own antiquity, they long despised others, as a new and mixed people. It is no wonder, therefore, that there are more remains of antiquity among them, than among any other people in Europe. (ii)

This passage points out that, for all his statements about race mixing, Macpherson's valorizes racial purity, with his emphasis on terms such as "pure," "original," and "unmixed." The passage also suggests that the Highland line acts as a kind of racial and cultural cordon sanitaire, behind which the cultural artifacts of Scotland's origins lay undisturbed for the antiquarian to discover.

The poetry of Ossian, of course, is that artifact, both proof and demonstration of Macpherson's racial theories. Macpherson uses Ossian as evidence that the ancient Caledonians were indeed the original race of Scotland and deploys his race theories to argue for the authenticity of the poetry. Though Macpherson makes no explicit claims that the Caledonians were inherently superior to other late-coming people such as the Anglo-Saxons, he implicitly eliminates all non-Gaels from the roots of the nation. Though it may be true that contemporary Lowlanders may carry some remnant of ancient Caledonian blood, impure Lowland racial makeup and Lowland cultural traditions could not represent the authentic origins of Scotland. Scottish difference

within Great Britain could only register as *Gaelic* difference. Though the main thrust of Macpherson's work is to assert the central importance of the Gaels in Scotland's early history, the implication of his claims for a common ancestor that unites all the races of Great Britain is that the Highland Gael is not simply the truest Scot but the truest Briton as well.

Pinkerton, however, quite pointedly rejects Macpherson's Gaelicizing of Scottish origins at every turn. In his *Enquiry*, it is not the Lowland Anglo-Saxon who is banished from the nation's origins but the Gaelic-speaking Celt. Pinkerton effects this by reasserting an argument that Macpherson refutes in a large section of his *Introduction*: that Gaelic Highlanders were not the original Scots at all, but came later from Ireland. Though both men see obvious racial affinities between the Irish and Highlanders, Macpherson argues that Ireland was first inhabited by Caledonians from Scotland. For Pinkerton, it is the other way around: Highlanders were "Dalriadic Scots," migrants from Ireland who would later misrepresent their status as latecomers to the nation by naming the region after themselves, "Scotland." According to Pinkerton, the original settlers to Scotland were not Celtic Scots, but Gothic Piks, who had migrated from Scandinavia to Britain long before the Roman invasion, around 200 BC.¹⁷ Though Pinkerton does agree with Macpherson that Celts inhabited the northern part of Britain before the Pikish migration, he argues that they left no mark on the island after they were easily scattered by the more advanced civilization of the Piks. The Piks then quickly established themselves in the Lowlands, where their English-speaking descendants live to the present time. Thus the original Caledonians were not Celtic, as were the Irish, but Gothic, as were the Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons.

In the introduction to his *Enquiry*, Pinkerton provides a lengthy chronological summary of previous antiquarian work on his subject, going back to the Middle Ages. He provides notation that includes a commentary on the relative merit of each work, praising valuable "insight" while condemning grievous "errors." Also in his introduction, Pinkerton establishes the rhetorical stance that informs his entire work: consistent and vehement derogation of the Celtic race as a whole and the antiquarians who would champion it. Yet even though Pinkerton rebuts, almost point by point, the specific claims of Macpherson's work, he nevertheless replicates many of Macpherson's general assumptions and rhetorical strategies. For example, both Pinkerton and Macpherson suggest that gradients in skin pigmentation are marks of racial difference that also provide a simple method for hierarchizing that difference: fairer races are physically superior to darker ones. Yet while Macpherson's noble Gaels are distinguished from "squat and swarthy" Tartars by their tall stature, "ruddy complexion," and "yellow hair" and "large blue eyes" (*Introduction* 203–204); Pinkerton argues that the "fair faces, and

red, or light hair” of a small population of people in Ireland and Scotland reveal their “Gothic extract,” compared to the vast Celtic majority who have “black curled hair, and brown faces” (*Enquiry* 1:26, n.).

In a similar vein, Pinkerton, like Macpherson, assumes that the relative purity of a people’s language is an indication of the relative purity of their blood. While Macpherson argues that Highland Gaelic is the purest example of the language and therefore an indication of the purity of Highland blood, Pinkerton argues that Highland Gaelic is the most corrupted example of the language, reflecting the frequent “intervention with the Piks” and other Gothic invaders such as the Norwegians. Pinkerton writes:

Not a fragment of the Gaelic has been found in Scotland older than the Fourteenth age; and it is perfectly known that the present Gaelic of the highlands of Scotland is quite full of Norwegian words. Hence this speech must be much more corrupt than any other Celtic dialect. . . . The Celts being natural savages, and regarded as such by writers of all ages, their tongue was simple and poor, whence they were always borrowing of others; while hardly in modern European language can one word derived from the Celtic be found. (*Enquiry* 1:137)

Linguistic and racial assumptions overlap, as Pinkerton’s summary of the corrupted state of the language of the Celts demonstrates their savagery. Here, Pinkerton’s argument echoes Johnson’s in the *Journey*: The crudeness of the Gaelic language precludes the possibility of an indigenous Gaelic epic, ancient or otherwise.

Pinkerton’s anti-Celticism is the thrust of his overall description of the early history of Europe, a history of the relentless expansion and dominance of the Goths over formerly Celtic domains. The pre-Christian Pikish establishment in Scotland is just one example of Gothic racial superiority, Gothic inevitability. Insistent and often redundant illustrations of Celtic depravity color all of Pinkerton’s ideas.¹⁸ For example, a large section of Pinkerton’s *Enquiry* is devoted to demonstrating how the nonindigenous Dalriadic Scots gave their name to the nation as a whole. Pinkerton offers an analogy to bolster his evidence, suggesting:

We ourselves speak of Americans, without specifying whether we mean the first savages, or European settlers; and of Britons, without specifying English, or Welch, Scottish, or Irish of the highlands; yet we use Britons also specially for Welch, and the British for the Welch tongue. These inaccuracies are understood at the time; but in the course of ages cause great confusion. (*Enquiry* 1:104–105)

While acknowledging many examples of Celtic refinement, he dismisses such refinement as nonindigenous, merely the product of race mixture. For example, as the Gaels in the Highlands "are mostly slavish and poor, as their savage indolence must necessarily make them . . . [t]he better ranks in the Highlands and Western Isles are almost all of Norwegian race, which is the very same with the Pikish" (*Enquiry* 1:351).

For Pinkerton, as for Macpherson, the job of the antiquarian is to uncover the past so that it can speak to the present. Yet unlike Macpherson, Pinkerton is not interested so much in reviving a long-buried voice so that it can speak again, but in stifling what he sees as the cacophony of voices of the ignorant and prejudiced. These voices come not out of the mists of the past but from the paneled libraries of other antiquarians, and Macpherson's is perhaps the most prominent voice that Pinkerton seeks to silence. Further, Pinkerton's attack on the failures of past work often reinforces his attack on the Celtic race as a whole, insofar as the inferior cognitive abilities of the "Celtic" antiquarian demonstrates the timeless inferiority of the Celtic mind. The errors of one seventeenth-century Welsh antiquarian, for example, are "so childish and truly Celtic, that they confute themselves" (*Enquiry* 1:99). Pinkerton offers a blanket condemnation by questioning the sanity of anyone who could make grandiose claims for the literary traditions of the Celtic people:

For that the most civilized and benevolent manners should belong to a savage society, as represented in Ossian, is not so absurd as that such a delusion could impose on any, in a country advanced beyond a savage state. National prejudice is also a species of madness, and consumes all reasoning and common sense; so that people, rather acute on other points, will on this betray a credulity beneath childhood, and an obduracy beyond the pitch of confirmed frenzy. (*Enquiry* 2:77)

Again, the failure of a contemporary Celt like Macpherson to reason reveals the transcendent failures of Celtic society and the Celtic mind:

The author of that strange and truly Celtic work [the *Introduction*], having, with that overheated rashness, which genius colliding with perfect ignorance can alone inspire, attempted to introduce the most diseased dreams into the history of Scotland, thought he could, behind his Celtic mist, use equal freedoms with the history of Europe! Rash man, and ill-advised! The mist of Celtic nonsense he may gild with the beams of real genius; but, with the ignorance of a school-boy, to write on the antiquities of the Germans . . . was deplorable indeed. (*Dissertation* 92)

By arguing that, although the Celt is incapable of any real intellect of reasoning ability, the fantastic imaginings of the Celt nevertheless reveal some flash of “real genius,” Pinkerton anticipates Matthew Arnold’s theories on Celtic literature and more general nineteenth-century constructions of the Celtic mind. Moreover, by using a contemporary example of Celtic ignorance, Pinkerton reinforces his assertion that the inferiority of the Celts is both essential and ahistorical. Thus, Pinkerton suggests that his readers need only travel to the Highlands and observe the Celts firsthand to confirm their utter savagery:

[H]ere in Britain . . . the Celts [are] mere radical savages, not yet advanced even to a state of barbarism; and if any foreigner doubts this, the [sic] has only to step into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic. (*Dissertation* 69)

In a familiar historiographical trope of the time period, affirming the incivility of a society in its mistreatment of women, Pinkerton also affirms the stasis of Celtic society:

[H]e who travels among the Scottish Highlanders, the old Welch, or Wild Irish, may see at once the ancient and modern state of women among the Celts, when he beholds these savages stretched at their ease in their huts, and their poor women toiling, like beasts of burden, for their unmanly husbands.¹⁹

Pinkerton’s insistent denunciation of the Celt constitutes not only a rejection of the Highland Gael, but a general rejection of primitivism. Yet Pinkerton’s “patriotic” condemnation of the Scottish savage is even more extreme than those like Johnson who argue that although contemporary Highland society was backward, it was still capable of improvement. Pinkerton instead asserts that Celtic society in the Highlands is utterly irredeemable, and centuries of static barbarity only emphasize this. In place of improvement, Pinkerton hints darkly at a more destructive program for the Highlands: “In vain would we excite industry among savages; the point is to colonize the country afresh” (*Enquiry* 2:140). Pinkerton thus reaches out of the Scottish past into the Highland present to find *prima facie* evidence for his claims about the entire history of the Celtic race. Instead of a repository of ancient Scottish tradition, Pinkerton’s Highlands are an ugly cultural slag heap that blights the landscape.

Pinkerton's analysis of the Celt seems diametrically opposed to that of Macpherson, yet Macpherson himself adopts Pinkerton's assumption that the Highlands are outside of history. Macpherson also gestures to the Highland present to provide evidence for his claim of the nobility of the Celts' ancient past. In a sweeping flourish that rhetorically dismisses a long list of classical and antiquarian sources, Macpherson argues that one need only to journey to the Highlands to witness the genius of the ancient Celts:

To any man acquainted with the nature and genius of the unmixed part of the posterity of the Celtae, in the northern division of the island, the authorities at the bottom of the page are superfluous. He will be convinced of the justness of the description, by the observations he himself has made; and he will be, at the same time, surprised to see the accurate exactness, with which the writers of Rome have drawn the portrait of our ancestors. (*Introduction* 192)

Macpherson's expulsion of the English-speaking Lowlander from the nation's origins is met, on the part of Pinkerton, with an even more insistent expulsion of the Celtic Highlander. Yet if Pinkerton's racial theories seem much more shrill in comparison to Macpherson's (even so, no less race obsessed), it is perhaps because by the turn of the century Macpherson's views were clearly gaining common currency in Scottish society. Certainly the conventional assumption outside of Scotland was that it was a Celtic nation, though the residue of the debate continued within Scotland.²⁰ The oppositionality of the debate between Macpherson and Pinkerton seems to provide no common ground, yet the underlying structural and rhetorical affinities of Macpherson's and Pinkerton's writings on the Highland/Celtic society suggest the uniformity of eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment assumptions about its primitive subject. Whether national wellspring or ignorant boob, the Highlander in both men's accounts remained in dark mountain haunts, largely unaffected by the passing of time.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATION

As we have seen, the historiographical debate between Macpherson and his chief critics, Pinkerton and Johnson, was also a linguistic one, as theories of language underpinned theories of racial origins and vice-versa. For Johnson, however, it was not so much the quality of Gaelic itself that was at issue but its *mode* of transmission. The orality of Highland society was proof that

Macpherson's compilation was of recent manufacture insofar as only literate societies were capable of transmitting their ideas to future generations. While accepting that Gaelic literary traditions were transmitted by word of mouth, Macpherson asserted that this actually guarantees the authenticity of Ossian's poetry. In the *Introduction* Macpherson argues that his contemporaries may lament the "want of letters" of ancient Scottish society, "which has involved in obscurity and fable the origin and history of their ancestors." However, he argues, since it was the Romans who introduced the use of letters to the tribes they conquered, contemporary Scots should be happy that the ancient Gaels retained their oral traditions, as the acquisition of letters would have meant enslavement and a "consequent imbecility of mind" (44).

Ossian is thus a double translation, of language and of mode. As such it played an important role in what Nicholas Hudson has described as the increasing acceptance of oral sources and oral culture in the eighteenth century.²¹ At the same time, as Penny Fielding has argued, debate over Ossian's authenticity "characterized the oral as at once a troublesome site of contested authenticity and a figure of national origin."²² Yet also, as a double translation of an increasingly marginalized indigenous culture, Macpherson's work shares much in common with other translation work in colonial settings. Macpherson partakes in a process of transforming the world of the Highlands. He accelerates English-speaking access to Gaelic culture, while highlighting its *difference* in the very act of making it familiar. To paraphrase Edward Said's summary of the translation work of the Orientalist William Jones in India, Macpherson's task was to gather in, to rope off, to domesticate the Other and thereby turn it into a province of metropolitan learning.²³ Macpherson's double translation is, in Michel de Certeau's terms, an "ethno-graphy," which transforms the voice of the Other. Whether the subject is Indian law codes or ancient Gaelic literature, translation works to commodify indigenous culture, converting it into an easily exchangeable form, while reminding the reader of the overarching primacy of English.²⁴ As Sorensen reminds us, "English is the universal equivalent of the many languages of its empire, waiting in the wings to assert its inarguable and abstracting value" (47).

Macpherson himself seemed aware of the transformative power of translation, which gave rise to conflicted feelings about his own intervention. Even as Blair and his colleagues in 1759 encouraged Macpherson to publish his translations of Gaelic poetic fragments, he began to have serious misgivings as to the ultimate fate of his project, misgivings which concerned not only past misappropriations of the poetry, but future ones. Macpherson was well aware that translating Gaelic literary traditions would make them more accessible to an English-speaking audience, thus perhaps further accelerating the

invasive destruction of Gaelic culture that he had witnessed firsthand while growing up in the Highlands. Macpherson was sympathetic to the plight of Gaelic-speakers in the wake of radical contemporary changes to their way of life, and there is some evidence that his original intent, before his project was enthusiastically taken up by its champions in Edinburgh and London, was to publish the collection in Gaelic "for the use of the natives who held these poems in very high estimation."²⁵ It was never Macpherson's intention to aid the decline of Gaeldom, yet he seemed to have understood the negative transformative power of translation. Stafford writes that the direct effects of his translation on the contemporary Highlands was preeminent in Macpherson's mind as he began his earliest work on translating the poetry:

Macpherson had his native loyalties to consider. [T]he idea of translating Gaelic verse into the language that threatened its [Highland culture's] destruction was something of a breach of trust. Highland poetry was handed down orally, forming a living link from generation to generation, so any written translation might turn it into inanimate, public property. Should the heroic traditions of the Highlanders be made accessible to outsiders? (80)

Sympathetic to his subject rather than dismissive, Macpherson was nevertheless bound by the asymmetrical relations of power that inform translation on the periphery. If, however, the act of translation represents a "will to power" to make the literary traditions of the Highlands more accessible to the English-speaking world, it also introduced the instability inherent in any act of translation into the very center of national debate.

TAKEN IN EVIDENCE: NATIVE TESTIMONY

Even though Macpherson, Pinkerton, and Johnson were all dead by 1797, continued Scottish anxiety as to Ossian's place in the nation prompted the Highland Society of Scotland to form a committee in that year to begin an investigation to determine definitively the authenticity of the poetry. In doing so, the committee sought to settle the issue once and for all, to stabilize the meaning of the text, and thus provide a key to solving the larger question of Scotland's linguistic and racial origins. In 1805 the Highland Society published the committee's findings in its *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*. The *Report* is a voluminous work that exhaustively documents the controversy surrounding its subject and incorporates a variety of original documents: correspondence between many of Ossian's

early backers, the opinion of an independent Gaelic scholar, a side-by-side comparison of Macpherson's translations with other Ossianic manuscript fragments in the Highland Society's collection, various published opinions of past authorities on the subject, and the oral "testimony" of Gaelic speakers living in the Highlands. This last category represents a key component of the work and of the committee's efforts to produce a final authoritative pronouncement on Ossian. Yet in relying on "native" testimony, the *Report* only heightened the tensions and ambiguities embedded in the text of Ossian. In order to render the testimony of Gaelic speakers intelligible, the Highland Society, of course, had to translate it, into text and into English.

The *Report* is often cited in modern scholarship on Ossian and is usually done so as an authoritative historical source that provides definitive insight on the debate. This positioning of the *Report* as a text that stands *outside* of the debate as it comments *on* it is also the one intended by its creators. Employing a legal rhetoric that endows the *Report* with an air of objectivity and authority, its creators hoped to pass final judgment on the poetry of Ossian, thereby rendering null and void the controversy that had long overshadowed it. The *Report* establishes its authority first by recounting its ceaselessly inquisitive gaze, which had sought to leave nothing concerning Ossian in the darkness. Although the committee was chaired by Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling* and prominent Edinburgh lawyer, it presents itself in the text as free from the constraints of individual perspective and individual bias. The principal compiler throughout the work is not any single named individual or group of individuals but the committee as a whole. Speaking with a disembodied juridical voice, the committee in effect puts Macpherson's work "on trial": It stands in the dock while the *Report* delineates its evidence and then pronounces its verdict. The *Report* is a powerful example of late Enlightenment inquiry; it is also one of the most sustained and energetic attempts of the time to comprehend the Gaelic culture of the Highlands. By subjecting a central artifact of Scotland's national culture to the full range of inquiry, the *Report* seeks, as did Macpherson's translation in the first place, to render that culture both coherent and transparent.

In the first part of the *Report*, the committee narrates how it began its work by searching the Highlands for any evidence of the existence of the stories of Ossian among local Gaels. The committee circulated a list of "queries" throughout the Highlands "among such persons resident there, as seemed most likely to afford the information required" (2). Asking for both evidence of the specific tales published by Macpherson and "any other ancient poems of the same kind, and relating to the same traditionary persons or stories with those in Mr Macpherson's collection" (2), the queries form the

largest component of the committee's initial investigation. Most of these queries were distributed to bilingual church ministers. By distributing these queries, the committee in effect was asking these ministers to be secondary witnesses to Ossian's circulation in the Highlands:

Have you ever heard repeated or sung, any of the poems ascribed to Ossian, translated and published by Mr Macpherson? By whom have you heard them so repeated, and at what time or times? Did you ever commit any of them to writing, or can you remember them so well as now to set them down? In either of these cases, be so good to send the Gaelic original to the Committee. (2)

The emphasis on testimony in the *Report* demonstrates how much Johnson's dependence on manuscript evidence had given way to a wider acceptance of oral sources of evidence.²⁶ In the juridical mode in which the *Report* investigates, however, secondhand testimony still lacks the persuasive authority of firsthand accounts, and so the committee sought knowledge from the ministers of "any persons, from whom you have heard any such poems, now alive . . . or any persons who remember and can recite or repeat such poems" (2). In soliciting the oral testimony of actual Gaelic speakers living in the Highlands as to the existence of the poems, the committee did what no other previous authority had thought to do: ask the natives about the authenticity of traditions claimed to be their own. The Gael, in effect, would be called on by the committee to offer compelling testimony on a subject of great importance to the nation as a whole.

Thus the *Report* presents the testimony of one "Hugh M'Donald, tacksmen of Kilpheder, in the island of Uist" in the Hebrides (14). M'Donald is characterized as a local who is "uninstructed in the literature, and even ignorant of the language of any other country" and who was unlikely therefore to have any previous exposure to Macpherson's published version of the poems. M'Donald thus seems to represent the ideal of an impartial witness as well as a perfect epitome of an "uncorrupted" native Highlander. In finding such an ideal witness, the *Report's* task is then to record his testimony as faithfully as possible, and the text of his statement as to the authenticity of Ossian is therefore surrounded by a legal/scholarly apparatus intended to ensure its exact and literal rendering. In addition to a transcription of M'Donald's affidavit in the original Gaelic, the translated English version follows with a statement of the exact place and date of the testimony. Like most of the Highland affidavits of the *Report*, M'Donald's was taken down and translated by a local church authority, "Mr Edmund Mac Queen, Minister of the

Gospel at Barra” in the Hebrides (app. 51). Further, the *Report* notes that writing down was attended in the presence of several eyewitnesses: “Mr Mac Lean of Boreray . . . Major Alexander Macdonald of Valy . . . Captain Ewen Macdonald of Griminish . . . Mr James Mac Queen, Missionary Minister in Harris . . . and Mr Roderick Mac Neil, younger of St Kilda” (app. 51). All of these witnesses declare that “what was spoken by Hugh Macdonald, and thus written by Mr Mac Queen, is perfectly just and satisfactory, with regard to the authenticity of Ossian’s poems” (app. 51). All then that is left is to do is to let the native speak, and M’Donald’s testimony indeed affirms the existence and common currency of Ossianic tales in the Highlands:

Let the opponents of Ossian then point out to us poetry of equal merit with his, composed in any language, not an original one, and in a fictitious one, and referring to a nation and a history altogether fabulous. I suspect they would expose themselves to ridicule by the attempt. Many poets after Ossian endeavored to copy or imitate him; but there is no man that understands our tongue, or the nature of our poetry, but will, on the first hearing of the first verses, easily distinguish their poems from his. (app. 45)

In the “translatorese” of the *Report*, M’Donald’s testimony differs little from that of other examples of Noble Savage speech in Anglo-American writing, and his voice rings, like the bard himself, in grandiloquent tones as M’Donald champions the poetry of Ossian and ridicules its critics.

In ensuring the presence of multiple witnesses at the scene of translation “in the field” and in providing such a cumbersome textual apparatus to demonstrate the accuracy of Macdonald’s testimony, however, the *Report* reveals the level of anxiety attending the committee’s attempt to bridge the slippery gap in meaning between translation and original. By translating Gaelic speech, the *Report* already transforms it, reinforcing and even highlighting the ambiguity it seeks to banish. Gaelic testimony is the speech that is, in de Certeau’s words, “part of the other that cannot be retrieved—it is an evanescent act that writing cannot convey” (213). Though the words of the Gaelic testimony can be written down, its idiom, nuances, and local context are “left behind” in the Highlands.

The committee itself seems to acknowledge this cultural divide when it describes the problems involved in translating the concept of “giving evidence” from one culture to another. “Persons” like M’Donald, the committee admits,

do not easily comprehend the nature of evidence, particularly on matters which themselves have always implicitly believed. . . . [T]he traditional histories and poetry of their fathers were, in their belief, of such indisputable authenticity as it was needless to inquire into, and it rather offended them to doubt. Such of them as this idea did not prevent from answering the Committee's inquiries, frequently answered them in a manner which a man naturally adopts who is unused to discussion or dispute, and who does not think it necessary to suit his information to a skepticism of which he never dreamed himself, and which he hardly conceives it possible for others to entertain. (14)

Transformed by the limits of translation, the testimony of the native Highlander, rather than fixing the poetry of Ossian in the light of inquiry, only pushes it further beyond the horizon.

So authoritative was the *Report's* pronouncement on the poems that most Scots considered the matter closed. Walter Scott in the *Edinburgh Review* wrote, "This [celebrated controversy is] not likely to be again argued, at least by writers of candour and respectability now in the field".²⁷ However, rather than bridging once and for all the gap that separates Ossian from its English audience, the testimonial-based *Report* instead doubles this gap as it must resort to translation itself to fix the meaning of Macpherson's translation. Ultimately, the committee is forced to report that it is unable to find "any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by [Macpherson]," and the committee fails to arrive at an incontrovertible conclusion to the mysteries of Ossian. The *Report* can only conclude that the committee

is inclined to believe that he [Macpherson] was in use to supply chasms, and to give connection, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language. (152)

The extent to which Macpherson may have embellished the work, however, "is impossible for the Committee to determine." The committee can only hedge its final statement, presenting an "inclination toward a belief." Not quite the definitive judgment the committee had sought for itself several years before, this final pronouncement is instead a testament to the continued ambiguity that surrounded the work.²⁸

TRANSLATION AND THE SPACE BETWEEN

In recalling the names of the bards of the clan Macdonald back through several generations, Hugh M'Donald is prompted before the eyewitnesses to condemn the present-day conditions in the Highlands. His contempt is directed not so much at outsiders but at the Highland ruling class, who, he argues, had failed to live up to its social obligations in the Highlands:

[T]he noblest virtues have been ruined, or driven into exile, since the love of money has crept in amongst us; and since deceit and hypocrisy have carried mercenary policy and slavish, sordid avarice into our land. Before . . . our chiefs cherished humanity. They were warm-hearted, determined and immoveable, in supporting their friends, and always proved the shield and shelter of the feeble. They possessed elevation of sentiment, and independent spirit, and unshaken fortitude, which were the defence of their friends, and the destruction of their own enemies and the enemies of their country. (app. 47)

M'Donald's defense of ancient Gaelic poetic tradition devolves into a bitter critique of the political and social climate of the contemporary Highlands, and his acrimony toward the modern clan chiefs may largely reflect the changing status of his own class position of tacksman, which was being made increasingly redundant in the new market-driven economy.²⁹ His critique, however, also reveals the way in which Ossian's poetry, in a local context, speaks with a different, more intimate voice and articulates an alternate set of cultural concerns and anxieties, an alternative set of cultural values. In doing so, his testimony suggests the ways in which the instability of translation—as it is deployed in multiple sites and contexts—can provide not only imperial “strategies of containment,” in Tejaswini Niranjana's words, but also a vehicle for native recalcitrance. Ossian speaks to a different notion of “community” in the rural Highlands than in the metropolis.

The uncertainties and contradictions that enshrouded Macpherson's translation of Ossian—from its very inception to the Highland Society's “final” judgment on the work—suggest that it represents an example of the transnational linguistic and literary culture of the eighteenth-century Highlands that Sorensen describes in her analysis of Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's *Ais-Eiridh na Sean Chánain Albannaich* (*Resurrection of the Ancient Scottish Language*).³⁰ Further, the cross-cultural influences of Macpherson's life serve to highlight the vexed position his work occupies. Though his training in Scottish Enlightenment theories of historiography and natural history were a direct influence of his work, he was, Stafford

writes, a "native Gaelic speaker [who] continued to use a colloquial form of Gaelic in correspondence with fellow Highlanders long after he left Inverness-shire [his birthplace] for London" (3). As a child, Macpherson witnessed the military campaigns of suppression in the Highlands. The castle of his close relation and clan "chief" Ewan Macpherson was razed by the army in 1746, and although Macpherson's celebrity and livelihood were founded on his devotion to the Highlands, he spent most of his productive life in London. He returned only much later, to live the life of a Highland laird on land in his native parish, purchased with the wealth he had accumulated from his literary productions and from his lucrative imperial career as an agent for the East India Company and the Nabob of Arcot. Macpherson was dependent on the metropolitan culture he at times resented, and the tension between two worlds structured much of his thinking. Perhaps aware of his own predicament, Macpherson declared to Boswell as they breakfasted in London, "Let me have something in perfection: either the noble rudeness of barbarous manners or the highest relish of polished society. There is no medium" (73–74). Yet it is the middle ground between the "noble rudeness" of the Highlands and the "polished society" of the metropolis that Macpherson struggled to negotiate.³¹

The act of translation is thus a point of intersection and interaction that prompts a rethinking of the imperial model of "translator"/"translated." As Ina Ferris suggests, many critics often reduce "translation" to this binary structure, overlooking the "triangularity that makes central the intercultural figure of the translator, who operates . . . in the liminal space between the other two terms" (206). Again, neither a simple instrument of imperial domination nor one of local resistance, Macpherson's work instead stakes out an intercultural third position. In this way, Macpherson is not so simply an agent of cultural appropriation—a fraudulent romanticizer—nor is he the agent of the bard, revitalizing the pure authentic voice of the people. Rather, he is the liminal figure who must negotiate within the shifting border space between the conflicting cultural imperatives. Ossian's grand but uncertain entry into the discourse on Scottish national identity does not signal an acquiescence; rather, it demonstrates, again in Ferris's words, the "recalcitrance" of the translated text:

Never far from its surface is the sense of another language that cannot quite be incorporated, and this sense draws attention to the fact that the matrix of translation includes both the untranslatable and the untranslated. These are complex motifs, but one of their primary functions is as signs of a certain autonomy: the other language keeps something in reserve, marking a limit to the reach of the translator's tongue. (212)

Ossian occupies the shifting middle ground between self and other, between nation and empire. The limits of translation and the elements of a culture that remain in reserve in the Highlands continue to shape the role of language and of historiography in the story of the nation. As modern-day writers begin to challenge the symbolic formation of Great Britain, and of Scotland subsumed within it, then the shifting ground of translation—which is the border space of Scottish culture—will again be poised to return to the forefront of national debate.



CHAPTER TWO

Rob Roy and the King's Visit

Modernity and the Nation-as-Tribe

The Highland Society's determined search in the Highlands for the voice of the ancient Gael illustrates the national import that literate urban Scots granted to Highland material. The search also highlights the problem that would continue to vex the use of this material long after—the question of its authenticity. Indeed, in the critical tradition “inauthenticity” has long been judged the overarching characteristic of the image of the Highlands in the Romantic era. Moreover, the inauthenticity of the Highlands has stood for the failings of Scottish Romanticism as a whole. As Davis, Duncan, and Sorensen write, “Scotland, neither English nor foreign, stands for an *inauthentic* Romanticism, defined by a mystified—purely ideological—commitment to history and folklore. Rather than being a site of Romantic production, Scotland's fate is to have become a Romantic object or commodity . . . a series of kitsch, fake, more or less reactionary ‘inventions of tradition,’ from Ossian and Scott to Fiona MacLeod and *Brigadoon*” (1–2). In the line of argument that these three identify, Ossian prepares the world market for an alluring Highland fantasy of which Sir Walter Scott would prove to be the master peddler. Acknowledging Scott's profound influence, Tom Nairn also describes Scott's Highlands as an appropriation and distortion of actual Gaelic cultural materials. Given the “realities” of the eviction and mass emigration of the Highland Clearances, which were contemporaneous with Scott's work, his “plundering,” in Nairn's words, was committed with “small regard for historical logic or decency” (168).

Furthermore, the fake Highlands that Scott portrays in his literature is aligned with his ideological project of consolidating Scotland's absorption into an Anglo-dominated Great Britain by conflating Scottish traditions with those of the primitive and anachronistic Highlands. Pittock has described

this conflation as a “denial of [Scotland’s] contemporaneity” (*Invention of Scotland* 87) by which Scott, fusing Jacobitism and the Highlands, consigned both to an outmoded past of “painful division to be superseded by one of imperial unity” (91). In doing so, Scott’s novels assert a distinctive but inert Highland “Scottishness,” safely entombed in the past and posing no threat to a synthetic (but progressive) “Britishness.” The conservatism of Scott’s “Celtification” of Scotland is only confirmed by the gaudy overuse of “tartanry” during George IV’s two-week visit to Edinburgh in August 1822, of which Scott was pageant master.¹ In both his novels and in the performances he fashioned for the king’s visit, Scott severed the link between the nation’s present and its past.²

Saree Makdisi, reading *Waverley* in particular, has situated Scott’s inscription of the Highlands as a remote and vanishing “past” not within the context of uneven relation of powers between Scotland and England, but within the context of Lowland Scots’ collusion with the English in the internal colonization of the Highlands. Makdisi links this work with a British romantic shaping of an imperial culture of modernization. Romantic identification of special sites of the premodern, or, more precisely, the “antimodern,” is intrinsic to the creation of new ideas of space and time in an emergent global imperial culture. Central to this process, Makdisi writes, is *Waverley*’s rigid spatial and temporal opposition between the Highland and Lowland and English worlds. Though the novel is reflexively aware of the historical transformation of the Highlands, it “refuses to map the ‘actual’ modernization of the Highlands.” Instead it “negates this transformation, by keeping the Highland space intact as the space of the past. In other words, [*Waverley*] keeps the Highlands alive (in the past) by symbolically killing them (in the present)” (98).

In seeing the establishment of a rigid opposition between English/Lowland modernity and Highland primitiveness, Makdisi, like Scott’s nationalist critics, assumes that Scott offers a consistent picture of the Highlands and that his novels, taken as a whole, offer a coherent ideology, of which the first, *Waverley*, is the paradigmatic expression. I, however, wish to offer a reading of Scott’s post-*Waverley* output, particularly *Rob Roy*, to rethink much of the nationalist and colonialist work that critics have identified in Scott’s first novel and have assigned reductively to Scott’s entire production.³ Though *Rob Roy* follows the narrative outline of *Waverley*—a young Englishman journeys first to the Scottish Lowlands then to the Highlands, where he unwittingly becomes ensnared in Jacobite intrigue—*Rob Roy* gives its reader a different vision of the Highlands. In *Rob Roy*, Scott actively engages with the complexities of national identity and the challenges posed by the

modernizing processes of his own imperial world. At the same time, Scott imagines new forms of national solidarity that arise from these processes. In making this case, I hope to draw together some of the previous threads of both national and postcolonial analyses to suggest the ways in which Scott's imagining of the *nation* are informed by ideas associated with processes of empire. Refracted through the lens of Scottish Enlightenment theories of political economy and natural history, *Rob Roy* provides an imperial vision of the modern nation, which is alert both to the contemporaneity of disparate cultures and the ways in which imperial expansion establishes—through modes of circulation and exchange—new relations *between* these cultures. In *Rob Roy* Scott rethinks the Highlander's relation to modernity and the rigid opposition between Lowlander and Highlander in Scotland, providing an eponymous Highland hero marked not by a static isolation or by irrational faith in an outmoded Jacobitism, but by his participation in a globalizing economy that necessitates a constant movement within and across regional boundaries. Scott presents a complex Highland subjectivity based in part on cross-cultural bonds that are themselves produced through acts of miscegenation. Scottish Gaeldom becomes for Scott, as it was for Macpherson, central to the vision of Scottish nationhood. Yet in *Rob Roy* Scott is not so much interested in the ancientness of the nation as in its modernity.

The disjuncture between differing cultural states brought together under modern conditions of imperial exchange and circulation narrated in *Rob Roy* poses a profound challenge to a static or organic notion of the nation. Indeed, Duncan argues that "*Rob Roy* is a novel devoted precisely to the intuition that modern Britain is not a 'nation' in the sense of a topology of defining terms converging upon a singular time and space" (*Primitive Inventions* 86). I want to argue that if, as Duncan suggests, the contemporaneity of both the modern *and* the primitive is a feature of the novel's realization of an imperial modernity that problematizes the very idea of a homogenous national time and space, it is the operations of exchange *between* the primitive and the modern *within* the nation that establish grounds for a reassessment, a rearticulation, of national collectivity. What Scott does is to situate Highland/Lowland miscegenation, arising out of the matrix of modernity, within a framework of "tribal" kinship—the communal bond most often associated in Scott's time with primitive society—to form the basis of national community. It is through the blood ties of kinship that Scott offers a new vision of Scottish national collectivity in *Rob Roy*, a vision he realizes amid the kilts and bagpipes of the 1822 visit of the king. Analogous to the circulation of trade and of money in the modern world, the circulation of blood establishes ties of affiliation and affinity that cross geographical,

linguistic, and cultural boundaries. It is therefore perhaps not coincidental that Scott chose Isaac Pocock's theatrical version of *Rob Roy* for the royal performance during the visit. In both forms of national performance, novel and royal pageant, the modern, imperial nation paradoxically takes shape under the sign of the tribe.⁴

THE WEALTH OF NATIONS

As many recent critics have suggested, Scott's understanding of the historical development of human society and the mechanisms of change within particular human societies was indebted to theorists of the Scottish Enlightenment such as Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, David Hume, and John Millar.⁵ Moreover, the comparativist mode of inquiry that was the hallmark of their investigations is an integral component of Scott's fiction. Scott himself suggests many times that interest in his work, on its most basic level, is predicated on juxtaposing descriptions of disparate societies, which invites comparison. In the 1829 Magnum Opus introduction to *Rob Roy*, Scott writes that Rob's story is distinguished particularly from the stories of other "freebooters" of the time in that a "character like [Rob's], blending the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian, was flourishing in Scotland during the Augustan age of Queen Anne and George I." It is, Scott continues,

this strong contrast betwixt the civilized and cultivated mode of life on the one side of the Highland line, and the wild and lawless adventures which were habitually undertaken . . . by one who dwelt on the opposite side of that ideal boundary, which creates the interest attached to his name.⁶

Kathryn Sutherland cites this passage as representative of "Scott's favored method of cross-cultural analogy," and places it within the tradition of Scottish philosophical historical writing with its "mixture of historical determinism and social anthropology, of discrete local deduction and imaginative generalization" (97–98). The fascinating juxtaposition of two different human societies at two different stages of development elicits the desire to read on. Conversely, lacking this comparative framework, descriptions of the Highlands would hold little or no interest for Scott's reader, and throughout *Rob Roy* Scott reinforces Highland difference in relation to "cultivated" society below the Highland line by comparing Highland society to other human societies in a primitive stage of development. Hence, the cliché (by 1817) comparison to American Indians in the introduction; the

Orientalist comparisons later in the novel between Rob's despotic authority in the Highlands and that of the "Sultan of Delhi"; the ethnographic interruptions of the narrative to remark, for example, on the social customs or the potential military usefulness of a "rude mountaineer" people; and the frequent animalistic references to Rob, who swims "like an otter" to elude capture from English troops and whose ruddy physiognomy alternatively evokes a ferocious "half-goblin half-human being" and "red-coloured Highland bull." Seen this way, the primitive Highland world of the novel seems a self-contained, closed cultural space, which speaks its own language and partakes of its own set of cultural codes and meanings unintelligible to the outside world. The forbidding sign of the "peeled willow-wand" placed across the half-open door of the inn on the Highland line at the beginning of volume 3 epitomizes a Highland world that is strange and threatening to outsiders. In the larger context of Scotland's national geography, Scott seems to affirm the bifurcation of Scottish identity, divided between Lowland and Highland worlds that can be plotted topographically onto the space of the nation. Upon this Highland/Lowland divide, a wider array of oppositions are dependent: civilized/primitive, modernity/antiquity, unionism/Jacobitism, reason/romance, rule of honor/rule of law, English/Gaelic, urban/rural, progress/stagnation, constitutional monarchy/patriarchal clanship, and so forth. As does *Waverley*, *Rob Roy* narrates a journey into the Highlands that highlights the cultural and economic peculiarities that define the Highlands as a distinct region, and in this way the novel seems to replicate the familiar markers of Highland alterity in *Waverley*.

Yet if it is the comparative mode of Scottish philosophical history that underwrites, as Scott himself suggests, interest in a novel about Rob Roy by highlighting Highland difference, this selfsame school of thought also informs the ways in which economics and market forces tend to ignore and even undermine national and regional borders. *Rob Roy* seems particularly indebted to the thinking of Adam Smith, who, in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1762–63, 1766), promulgated the idea that certain stages of human society can be defined by the particular modes of production that dominate within them, while simultaneously arguing that the universal characteristic of human beings is their "propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another." Though it is difficult to label Smith a philosophical historian, his thinking—like that of Ferguson, Hume, Kames, and Millar—emphasizes the discreteness of individual stages of human development. Smith, however, emphasizes economic activity as the universal constant in human social development, and Sutherland has described Scott's indebtedness to Smith, particularly in the ways Scott sought to realign the creative act, the labor of novel-writing, within the

sphere of commercial and emergent industrial society.⁷ In pointing out Smith's importance to Scott's work, I want to focus on the role of Smith's ideas on the economic mechanisms that determine the health and wealth of nations. These ideas inform the propensity and substance of economic discourse in *Rob Roy*, a novel saturated with the rhetoric of "political economy." Circulation—of goods, money, and people—not only links the Highlands with the rest of Scotland, Great Britain, and the empire in the novel, it shapes new transcultural identities.

David Kaufmann has argued that economics and political theory form the background of Scott's early novels; they are the "environment" and "horizon" of these works, which are "concerned with the way economics affect a pre-existing polity whose stability the novelist wants to ensure" (122). The journey of *Rob Roy*'s narrator, the young Englishman Frank Osbaldistone—from Bordeaux to London, then to Osbaldistone Hall in Northumberland, then to Glasgow, and finally to the Highlands—is prompted by his father's sudden business failings; a dramatic debt call-in in the Highlands, rather than renewed political passions, is inciting the clans to unrest; and a fluctuating cattle market and a general credit crunch in the Highlands is largely to blame for Rob's descent into outlawry. Given the central role of economics in defining and describing the motives and manners of characters in the novel as well as the historical processes in which they find themselves, it is possible to argue, as Ian Duncan suggests, that "[e]conomics seems to be the definitive discourse of the historical novel as well as history itself."⁸

If the examples outlined above point to the role of commerce in determining the eventual fates of the individual characters in the novel, they also reveal Smith's influence insofar as commercial success or failure is predicated and marked particularly by the relative status of money circulation and of credit. "Money," as Smith writes, "has become in all civilized nations the universal instrument of commerce, by the intervention of which goods of all kinds are bought and sold, or exchanged for one another" (44). Furthermore, Smith argues, the adequate circulation of money is key to ensuring the health of the nation. Money is the "the great wheel of circulation," the "great instrument of commerce" (291). The relative availability of money becomes an index of wealth, as *Rob Roy* affirms, for both the individual and the nation as a whole. Access to money or credit, or the lack of it, sets the plot in motion and directs the energies of individual characters. Moreover, these examples suggest that the dynamics that govern the circulation of money and credit must be seen within a larger national or even global context. In the world of *Rob Roy*, the livelihood of *Homo economicus* is always dependent on, and implicated in, market forces beyond the local context. The novel glimpses the workings of economics on both the macro and micro levels, as it pays

particular attention to differing localities and regions successively in the narrative, all the while showing the ways in which the local both reflects and contributes to economic forces in a wider arena. Thus, Frank travels from London to Scotland in part because some of his father's investments are in the Highland forestry, and the Osbaldistone business is saved ultimately by the recovery of bills stolen by Rashleigh, which allows Frank's father in London to play a central role in "rescuing" the British government from Jacobite intrigue. He does this not by raising a militia but by helping to shore up the nation's credit, as a key strategy of the Jacobites, we are told, is to bankrupt the government by inspiring a run upon its funds.

The Glaswegian bailie and merchant Nicol Jarvie, who most embodies commercial interest in the novel, adopts a Smithean language of political economy in which economics forms the fundamental basis for understanding political and personal processes. In this, Jarvie speaks a universal discourse that encapsulates not only the condition of his own Glasgow—with its expanding textile manufactures of "Stirling serges, Musselburgh stuffs, Aberdeen hose, Edinburgh shaloons, and cottons and Muslins"—but also conditions within the strange world of the Highlands—with its "moiety of unemployed bodies" and blackmail contracts. If the discourse of economics, of political economy, gives Jarvie the license to speak authoritatively on the Highlands, the same discourse emphasizes the universal workings of commerce that link region with region within the nation. Rather than working within the framework of a narration of successive local and regional peculiarities, political economy emphasizes the economic interdependence of differing regions within the nation. In this way, the novel, rather than simply staging a series of "border clashes" as its narrator moves ever north, instead unfolds different aspects of a dynamic national "organism" that ultimately is greater than the sum of its parts.

The novel's privileging of a discourse of political economy in the novel can be said to enact a pro-union ideology insofar as it suggests that all Britons, regardless of their local context, share a common stake in the nation's economy as a whole. Indeed, Jarvie not only speaks the language of political economy, he also rehearses familiar arguments for the economic benefits of union. Responding to the anti-unionist sentiment of Andrew Fairservice, Jarvie retorts:

Whisht, sir!—whisht! it's ill-scraped tongues like yours, that make mischief atween neighbourhoods and nations. There's naething sae gude on this side o' time but it might hae been better, and that may be said o' the Union. Nane were keener against it than the Glasgow folk, wi' their rabblings and their risings, and their mobs, as they ca' them now-a-days. But it's an ill wind

blaws naebody gude—Let ilka ane roose the ford as they find it—I say, Let Glasgow flourish! whilk is judiciously and elegantly putten round the town’s arms, by way of by-word.—now, since St Mungo caught herrings in the Clyde, what was ever like to gar us flourish like the sugar and tobacco-trade? Will ony body tell me that, and grumble at the treaty that opened us a road west-awa’ yonder? (312)

For Glasgow merchants, opening up new colonial markets across the Atlantic, “the road west-awa’ yonder,” was to be one of the great promises of the union. Speaking in 1715, only a few years after the signing of the Treaty of Union, Jarvie is granted a prescient wisdom by Scott, who indirectly attacks the anti-union radicals of his time: the “Glasgow folk wi’ their rabblings and their risings, and their mobs.”

Jarvie’s economic force of mind in this passage thus seems to partake of Scott’s Tory pro-unionism, and, as David Daiches writes, “[t]he whole rhetorical rhythm of the novel at this point makes it clear that the Bailie is here speaking for Scott” (“Scott and Scotland” 40). Yet it is difficult simply to describe Jarvie or the novel as a vehicle to advance Scottish assimilation. For one, the economic interdependence that *Rob Roy* envisions does not elide regional economic peculiarities. Indeed, the novel could be said to affirm the economic integrity of disparate regions in Britain by stressing interdependence, not uniformity. For another, Scott himself would deploy Smith’s principles of political economy to launch his most ardent and sustained defense of Scotland’s right to manage its own economic affairs in the *Letters of Malachi Malgrowther*.

The three long letters that Scott submitted to the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* in February and March of 1826 are the most insistent examples of the way in which Scott tied the free circulation of money and credit to the continued wealth of the nation.⁹ Each of the letters was quickly put into widespread circulation in pamphlet form, and Scott’s initial writing inspired Scots around the country to submit their own petitions to Parliament against the legislation.¹⁰ Scott’s impetus for writing was the treasury’s plan to address a festering fiscal crisis in England. Its solution was to forbid the issuance of banknotes valued at £5 or less, not only in England but in Scotland and Ireland as well. Scott attacked the plan both as an affront to political independence guaranteed in the Treaty of Union and as poor economic policy. Though it may have made sound economic sense to end the circulation of small notes in England, Scott argued, for the smaller poorer “sister” nation to the north such a policy would hinder the free flow of credit and therefore capital investment, which has “converted Scotland, from a poor, miserable and barren country, into one, where, if Nature has done less, Art and Indus-

try have done more, than in perhaps any country in Europe, England herself not excepted" (22). Scotland's success, Scott writes, is owed in no small part to the long-standing banking system, a system in which small notes "entirely supply the demand for a medium of currency" and which have "completely expelled gold from the country of Scotland" (21). By writing the *Letters of Malachi Malgrowther*, writes Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Scott put himself into circulation, becoming a "conspicuous national performer . . . renegotiating the modes of Scotland's valuation for an enthusiastic Scottish audience" (*Possible Scotlands* 144). Fittingly then, the relative ease by which money and credit circulates within the nation becomes the determinant of its wealth as manifested in Scott's picture of a dynamic "improving" nation whose "infrastructure" affords the fullest achievement of commerce.

In the *Letters*, Scott imagines the nation as an organic entity in which paper money flows like a life-giving force. Where this force fails to circulate or does so only poorly, the outer extremities of the nation's "body" suffer the most. For example, Scott draws on the Bible to describe Britain's "body" without the proper circulation of money:

Great Britain would be then somewhat like the image in Belteshazzar's dream. London, its head, might be of fine gold—the fertile provinces of England, like its breast and arms, might be of silver—the southern half of Scotland might acquire some brass or copper—but the northern provinces would be without worth or value, like the legs, which were formed of iron or clay. (112)

By embodying Great Britain, Scott acknowledges the centrality of London as the "head" while emphasizing the interrelatedness of its limbs. He pays particular attention to the plight of the "extremities," for it is in these where the challenges to adequate monetary circulation are greatest.

Scott's example throughout the *Letters* of this special problem of the atrophy of the nation's "limbs" is the Highlands, where, he writes, without adequate paper money:

[M]en are driven back to the primitive mode of bartering for everything—the peasant pays his rent in labour, and the fisher gets his wages in furnishings. Misery is universal—credit is banished—and with all the bounties of nature around them, ready to reward industry—the sinews of that industry are hewn asunder, and man starves where Nature has given abundance! (112)

In perhaps his most sympathetic summary of the economic hardships taking place in the Highlands of his time, Scott establishes a causal connection

between this shortage of paper money and the trauma of destitution and emigration in the Highlands. Without credit, the Highlands go “unimproved,” jobs become scarce, and

the state must either feed idle paupers, who once flourished a hardy and independent race of labourers, or it must be at the expense of transporting the inhabitants to Canada and New South Wales, and leaving totally waste a country, which few but those bound to it by the *Amor patriae* will desire to reside in, even if the means of procuring assistance were left unimpaired. (118)

In the *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*, the Highlands are Scott’s special example to illustrate the special demands of the nation’s outer “limbs,” yet the general economic principles that operate in the relationship between credit, capital, and wealth are seen to apply in the Highlands as they do in Scotland and Great Britain as a whole.

Scott affirms the basic tenets of Smith’s economic principles in the *Letters* and deploys them to argue for an independent Scottish economic policy, yet he also pointedly condemns economic uniformity, insisting that the particular economic dynamics of a region, its relative economic vitality, cannot be diagnosed without some localized understanding. In doing so, Scott points to the limits of applying universalist assumptions of theorists like Smith to particular economic contexts while affirming their usefulness in mapping an organic, interdependent Great Britain whose health is predicated on the free circulation of money.

Less like Smith’s ideal impartial spectator, who stands outside the economic world he wishes to describe, Malachi Malagrowther is closer to Nicol Jarvie in *Rob Roy* in that he is fully implicated in, and passionate about, the dynamics of commerce and credit that he describes. Scott’s polemic economics-based description of the nation as an organic “body” in the *Letters* echoes the dynamics of circulation and the interrelatedness of “head,” “chest,” and “limbs” laid out in *Rob Roy*, as money and credit are seen to circulate, crossing regional borders with relative ease. It is, however, not only money that can be seen to circulate freely in *Rob Roy*; the novel also reveals the ways in which the circulation of money and the dynamism of commerce necessitate a concomitant circulation of people.

CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTER IN THE BORDERLANDS

As Frank and Jarvie in the last third of the novel travel into the Highlands in search of Rob, who has the means of returning the Osbaldistone family to

solvency, the novel itself moves into what would become familiar narrative territory for Scott's readers in the nineteenth century. Readers of *Waverley* would recognize instantly the narration of the frontier crossing, where the protagonists encounter an exotic mix of cross-cultural characters at cross-purposes, where no one can read the intentions of others, and where minor misunderstandings lead to violent confrontation. The entry point of this frontier space is the inn on the Highland line, and the dangerous and dislocating effects of the frontier are summed up by the innkeeper when she remarks, "[B]etween sogers and Saxons, and caterans and cattle-lifters, and hership and bluidshed, an honest woman wad live quieter in hell than on the Highland line" (330). At the inn, the novel introduces a familiar clash of ethnic types and social practices: The primitive rubs up against the modern, and the state asserts its presence through the blunt instrument of military occupation, the most visible characteristic of an imperialism that is taking place both inside and outside the nation. It is important to note, however, that readers have glimpsed this uneasy atmosphere, this clash of cultures, already in the novel, and not in the Highlands but in the novel's initial descriptions of the modern metropolis—in Frank's initial awestruck impression of Glasgow, the novel's primary Scottish urban setting:

The dusky mountains of the Western Highlands often sent forth wilder tribes to frequent marts of St. Mungo's favorite city. Hordes of wild, shaggy, dwarfish cattle and ponies, conducted by Highlanders, as wild, as shaggy, and sometimes as dwarfish, as the animals they had in charge, often traversed the streets of Glasgow. Strangers gazed with surprise on the antique and fantastic dress, and listened to the unknown and dissonant sounds of their language, while the mountaineers, armed even while engaged in this peaceful occupation with musket and pistol, sword, dagger, and target, stared with astonishment on the articles of luxury of which they knew not the use, and with an avidity which seemed somewhat alarming on the articles they knew and valued. (237)

No less than the Highland line itself, Glasgow is part of a "border" space, which upstages the border crossing narrated later in the novel at the inn. Unlike Edward Waverley, Frank does not need to travel to the Highlands to glimpse the primitive, as the primitive is already present in Glasgow, providing meat for its table, and is constitutive of the burgeoning imperial metropolis rather than set in opposition to it. By mapping the border both on the Highland line and on the urban space of Glasgow, however, the novel works to undermine the very notion of the border as a rigid, clearly demarcated space that can be plotted topographically on a map. Instead,

the frontier becomes more a particular set of social and economic relations between differing cultures that can occur in varying locales. Rather than presenting a stable Highland line that demarcates a rigid division between two temporal orders, *Rob Roy* presents a more ambiguous border zone, a space that is, in José David Saldívar's words, "the Janus-faced border line in which peoples geopolitically forced to separate themselves now negotiate with one another and manufacture new relations, hybrid cultures, and multiple-voiced aesthetics" (13).

Rob himself seems to exemplify the transitoriness of frontier life. On the one hand, Rob's position as a once "honest weel-doing drover," forced to turn outlaw in part because of economic duress, seems to reinforce his alignment with a primitive Highlands, given that the herding of livestock denotes the principal economic activity of the second or "pastoral" stage of human development in Smith's formulation. On the other hand, the transitory life of a cattle drover, the fact that a drover must move his cattle far outside the Highlands to bring them to urban markets, suggests that Rob is equally "of Glasgow" as he is "of the Highlands." Indeed Frank's (and the reader's) first encounter with the disguised Rob takes place not in the Highlands or even in Scotland but in Darlington, in the north of England. Though Rob, or "Campbell" as he is known in the early part of the novel, is a mysterious figure, he hardly seems out of place at the inn at Darlington. The villain Rashleigh himself admits that Rob's success as a drover means that "he has often occasion to send great droves into Northumberland" (160).

Droving links Rob commercially and culturally not just to small towns and rural spaces outside of the Highlands but to the metropolis itself. Unlike Frank's movement from London to Northumberland and then Glasgow, which represents a temporary disruption of his normal movement patterns and which can be plotted topographically almost as a straight line, Rob's entrance into Glasgow in the novel is merely one resting point in a circuitous pattern of temporary migration that would be repeated each year in the life of a gentleman drover.¹¹ Though, again, Rob's movements in Glasgow appear initially mysterious and menacing, he moves freely and at ease, and, as Jarvie points out, Rob has been there many times before. Thus the "Highlandness" that Rob embodies is not one marked by staticity and isolation; rather, the Highlander circulates in a recognizably modern pattern of transnational migration.

The social historian Allan I. McInnes has described not only the crucial economic importance of black-cattle droving in the Highlands, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century, but also the ways in which drov-

ing activity, rather than reinforcing the static backwardness of the Highland economy before 1745, provided the economic basis for increased growth and commercial activity in the Highlands (77). *Rob Roy* seems alert to the complex links between patterns of migration and Highland economic conditions, pointing to new economic realities in western Scotland in 1715 and to new migration patterns in the Highlands on the horizon. Even during the time in which the novel is set, Scott remarks,

[t]he mountain glens were over-peopled, although thinned occasionally by famine or by the sword, and many of their inhabitants strayed down to Glasgow—there formed settlements—there sought and found employment, although different, indeed, from that of their native hills. (237)

Following Malthus, Scott sees Highland migration to the city, even at its early stages, not as the product of the demands of an expanding agrarian capitalism but of the pressures of overpopulation. Even so, Scott gives credit to the new influx of Highland migrant labor as it is part of the engine that drives Glasgow's nascent manufacturing base, which in turn fuels its increasing wealth. He writes:

This supply of a hardy and useful people was of consequence to the prosperity of the place, furnished the means of carrying on the few manufactures which the town already boasted, and laid the foundation of its future prosperity. (237)

Rob Roy, then, not only recognizes the complex dynamics of the Highland droving economy but also narrates a transitional stage in the history of Highland migration, as the temporary migration patterns of droving gave way to the permanent migration patterns that marked both a burgeoning Scottish industrialism and Highland integration into the imperial global economy. Moreover, this shift in Highland migration transformed the urban culture of Glasgow in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As Devine observes, even by 1717 "it was reported that there were a considerable numbers of persons 'having the Irish language' [Gaelic] residing in the city of Glasgow and the town of Grinok [Greenock], and the Glasgow Highland Society was founded as early as 1727."¹² Charles W. J. Withers reports that by the end of the nineteenth century, "there were so many Highland-born persons in Glasgow that the *Oban Times* reckoned that city the 'Capital of the Highlands'" (3). It is this transformation of the Scottish city that *Rob Roy* describes: Glasgow is both a Highland space and a Lowland one at the

same time, a complex nexus in which the Highlands and the Highlander are tied to the rest of Scotland, to Britain, and to the empire.¹³

That the new economic and cultural conditions of this border space produces a Highland character shaped not by birth location but by movement across cultures becomes clear when Rob's character is contrasted with that of his relatively immobile and isolated wife, Helen. Confined to the Highland world, Helen MacGregor, not the novel's title character, seems to articulate most completely the ancient code of the Highlands. This is particularly so when she, taking command of the MacGregor clan in Rob's absence, imperiously orders the summary execution of her English hostage, Morris, in retaliation for his duplicity, which led to the arrest of her husband. As Morris cries out for mercy, Helen coldly retorts:

I could have bid you live . . . had life been to you the same weary and wasting burden that it is to me. . . . But you—wretch! You could creep through the world unaffected by its various disgraces, its ineffable miseries, its constantly accumulating masses of crime and sorrow: you could live and enjoy yourself, while the noble-minded are betrayed . . . you could enjoy yourself, like a butcher's dog in the shambles, battening on garbage, while the slaughter of the oldest and best went on around you! This enjoyment you shall not live to partake of; you shall die, base dog, and that before yon cloud has passed over the sun. (364)

Helen's actions in this passage are guided wholly by her great "thirst for vengeance," and it is this thirst alone that drives her character. While this scene is taking place, however, Rob is "offstage," recently escaped from the custody of the Duke of Montrose and is working his way back to the clachan of his clan. When he later hears of the cold-blooded killing of Morris, his reaction is equivocal:

I vow to God, such a deed might make one forswear kin, clan, country, wife, and bairns!—and yet the villain wrought long for it. And what is the difference between warsling below the water wi' a stane about your neck, and wavering in the wind wi' a tether round it?—it's but chocking after a', and he drees the doom he ettled for me . . . and naebody will deny that Helen MacGregor has deep wrongs to avenge. (391)

Rob here seems only to gradually rationalize and thus legitimate an action he first seems to condemn. Moreover, his reaction suggests that vengeance itself cannot be judged ultimately as an intrinsic feature of the Highland way of life, but is instead a deed fraught with ethical ambiguity, a matter

of individual conscience, that must be judged by the context in which it is taken. However, if vengeance could be said to epitomize the primitiveness of the Highland world, Rob's vexed reaction to news of Morris's murder reveals the competing influences that mark his character, as is manifested in his speech patterns. In contrast to the Ossianic idiom of his wife, whose speech patterns mark her relative isolation, Rob's speech is multifaceted. Contrasting Helen's speech with Rob's, Frank observes:

[T]here was a strong provincial accentuation, but, otherwise, the language rendered by Helen MacGregor, out of the native and poetical Gaelic, into English, which she acquired as we do learned tongues, but had probably never heard applied to the mean purposes of ordinary life, was graceful, flowing, and declamatory. Her husband, who in his time played many parts, used a much less elevated and emphatic dialect. . . . [I]t appears to me in his case, and in that of some other Highlanders whom I have known, that, when familiar and facetious, they used the Lowland Scottish dialect,—when serious and impassioned, their thoughts arranged themselves in the idiom of their native language; and in the latter case, as they uttered the corresponding ideas in English, the expressions sounded wild, elevated, and poetical. (411–412)

Rob's conflicted speech patterns reflect the varied and sometimes competing cultural influences that complicate an easy reading of his identity. Unlike Helen's speech, which is Scott's attempt to reproduce a "translated" English "rendered purely from the Gaelic," Rob's speech is neither wholly pure nor a simple corruption, but instead is double voiced and can shift dramatically depending on the cultural context he must negotiate.

For Helen, Rob's dealings with the world below the Highland line constitute a debasement of his identity, as he "runs himself into the miserable intrigues of the Lowlanders, and becomes again, after all he has suffered, their agent—their tool—their slave" (368). The "less elevated language and less emphatic dialect" of Rob Roy, however, can be said to reveal the "many parts" he is called to play as he becomes part of the varied polyglot world he inhabits, moving across borders and between cultures. This dynamic frees a space for a modern Highland subject by which Scott encapsulates the syncretism effects of Highland-Lowland migration throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. If *Rob Roy* is alert to the transcultural influences that shape Highland culture in the eighteenth century, the novel also points to the ways in which these influences operate in two directions, moving back and forth between the Highlands and the Lowlands and shaping not only Highland culture but Lowland culture as well.

MISCEGENATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The Lowlander Nicol Jarvie first enters the Highlands unwillingly, as Helen's prisoner, and she castigates Jarvie for daring to claim kin with her husband, as Jarvie neither adopts the Highland dress nor speaks the language. Jarvie replies:

I ken weel enough you Hieland folk haud hold us Glasgow people light and cheap for our language and our claes; but every body speaks their native tongue that they learned in infancy; and it would be a daft-like thing to see me wi' my fat wame in a short Hieland coat, and my puir short houghs gartered below the knee, like ane o' your Lang-legged gillies. (358)

As does Helen, Jarvie links particular modes of dress with particular identity: The kilt is not simply a colorful costume but an expression of the very *essence* of its wearer, and for a non-Highlander to wear a kilt would constitute a ridiculous act of ethnic transvestism. In this scene, Scott himself anticipates the critics' attacks on the kilted pageantry during George IV's visit, which I take up later in the chapter. While Jarvie acknowledges the ridiculousness of such an act, he also insists that he receive special treatment on the grounds that he is quite literally cousin to the Highlander through a distant act of Highland/Lowland miscegenation. Moreover, the fact of this blood bond of kinship, or, in its Highland register, *clanship*, establishes a bond of mutual obligation, sympathy, and heartfelt affection between the two men that throughout the novel transcends the political, economic, and cultural allegiances that divide them.

This kinship is highlighted in the very first encounter between them, which can be characterized as more a reunion, since we learn that both men have had dealings with each other many times before. In the dark jail cell of the Glasgow tolbooth, Rob prefigures Jarvie's appeal to kinship ties, demanding that his cousin contravene his obligations as a bailie and let him go unmolested. Rob lists "three sufficient reasons" why Jarvie would never "say the word" that would bring him into custody:

First, for auld langsyne;—second, for the sake of the auld wife ayont the fire at Stuckavallachan, *that made some mixture of our bluids*, to my own proper shame be it spoken! that has a cousin wi' accounts, and yarn winnles, and looms, and shuttles, like a mere mechanical person;—and lastly Bailie, because if I saw a sign o' your betraying me, I could plaster that wa' with your harns ere the hand of man could rescue you! (270; emphasis added)

Sandwiched between the claims of longstanding friendship and sinister threats of violence, the claim of kinship, founded on a long-ago admixture of Highland and Lowland blood, rests uneasily. Nevertheless, it is this claim of kinship that Jarvie takes up in his response, agreeing to keep silent:

Weel, weel . . . bluid's thicker than water; and it liesna in kith, kin, and ally, to see motes in ilk other's een if other een see them no. It wad be sair news to the auld wife below the Ben of Stuckavrallachan, that you, ye Hieland limmer, had knockit out my harns, or that I had kilted you up in a tow. (270)

Both characters consistently address each other as "kinsman" or "cousin," and the degree to which both can actually "claim kin" seems irrelevant in determining the relative strength of the emotional bond that kinship establishes between them. Though Jarvie admits he has rarely seen Rob since the latter became an outlaw, he carries in his head the outline of a rather bulky family tree that validates their kinship. Called upon to substantiate his claims of kinship before Helen, Jarvie can recite the lengthy genealogy that is required to reach back several generations before arriving at a common ancestor that unites him with Rob in blood:

My mother, Elspeth MacFarlane, was the wife of my father, Deacon Nicol Jarvie—peace be wi' them baith!—and Elspeth was the daughter of Parlane MacFarlane, at the Sheeling o' Loch Sloy. Now, this Parlane MacFarlane, as his surviving daughter Maggy MacFarlane, alias MacNab, wha married Duncan MacNab o' Stuckavrallachan, can testify, stood as near to your gudeman, Robin MacGregor, as in the fourth degree of kindred, for,— (358)

Though Helen here interrupts him, Jarvie has made his point that he and Rob are indeed cousins, albeit four times removed. Despite the seemingly comical weakness of their kinship bond, however, Jarvie regards it as sacrosanct, as he reveals when he tells Helen that executing him would amount to an unprecedented act of Highland kin slaying (367).

Beyond providing the basis for a special dispensation from Highland justice, kinship establishes a bond of mutual obligation that, in addition to superseding Jarvie's legal obligation as bailie, also prompts the promises of mutual aid that both men make at their parting near the end of the novel. Moreover, the ties of kinship produce in both men a powerful reciprocity of feeling and mutual affection for one another. Thus Rob's outpouring of sympathy when he hears of the rough treatment of his cousin at the hands of his wife:

I wad rather than a thousand merks . . . that I had been at hame! To misguide strangers, and forbye a', my ain natural cousin, that had showed me sic kindness—I wad rather they had burned half the Lennox in their folly! But this comes o' trusting women and their bairns, that have neither measure nor reason in their dealings. (390)

Jarvie seems to share Rob's intensity of feeling. After dinner at Jarvie's house in Glasgow, Frank relates how Jarvie is forced to pause as he narrates Rob's life misfortunes:

The voice of the good citizen was broken by his contending feelings. He obviously, while he professed to condemn the pedigree of his Highland kinsman, attached a secret feeling of consequence to the connection, and he spoke of his friend in his prosperity with an overflow of affection, which deepened his sympathy for his misfortunes, and his regret for their consequences. (303)

Bonds of blood are supple and strong and provide a more powerful feeling of mutual sympathy in the novel than alternative bonds, such as those of commerce, as is illustrated when Rob repays the monetary debt he owes Jarvie. Jarvie initially refuses to take the money as he assumes it represents the profit of Rob's ill-gotten gain—tainted by its circulation in the blackmail economy of the Highlands. Jarvie, however, ultimately accepts the money, and Rob thereafter burns his receipt. Rob's Highland settlement of their account partly nullifies Jarvie's seemingly legalistic and crassly commercial counting of the money, which "amounted to the discharge of [Rob's] debt, principal and interest." Yet Jarvie himself *already* has worked to partly modulate the commercial character of the exchange between the two men, by redirecting some of the money back into the Highlands, not in the form of a debt fulfillment but as a gift to Rob "to buy [Jarvie's] kinswoman a gown . . . and for the twa bairns . . . requesting that they might buy anything they liked . . . except gunpowder" (399). Though the obligations of Rob's and Jarvie's commercial relations are fulfilled, blood obligations seem to transcend them, as they prove a more powerful bond.

Blood in the novel, as does money, "circulates" throughout the nation, and intercourse is therefore an apt term to describe the process by which sex and commerce unite bodies of otherwise disparate cultures. If Jarvie ultimately accepts money that has been "corrupted" by its circulation in the Highlands, he also accepts the Highland "despoilment" of his own blood. Remonstrating with Frank against keeping too much company with "Hielandman and thae wild cattle," Jarvie seems to summarize his own predicament when he asks

rhetorically, "Can a man touch pitch and no be defiled?" (277). Beyond mere association, Jarvie's "Highland" blood transforms his identity, marking him "impure," which, after recounting the wild escapades of his Highland cousin, he himself admits:

[M]oney a daft reik [Rob] has played—mair than wad fill a book, and a queer ane it wad be—as gude as Robin Hood, or William Wallace—a' fu' o' venturesome deeds and escapes, sic as folk tell ower at a winter-ingle in the daft days. It's a queer thing o' me, gentlemen, that am a man o' peace mysell, and a peacefu' man's son, for the deacon my father quarreled wi' nane out o' the town-council—'s a queer thing I say, but I think the *Hieland blude o' me* warms at thae daft tales, and whiles I like better to hear them than a word o' profit, gude forgie me!—But they are vanities—sinfu' vanities—and, moreover, again the statue law—again the statue and gospel law. (304; emphasis added)

Jarvie here identifies the ways in which miscegenation has formed his own identity, has made him "queer." Rob himself later ascribes Jarvie's unexpected "spirit" in fending off an attacker in the Highlands to the presence of some "gentleman's [Highland] bluid in his veins" (389). Rather than troping the divided Scottish self and the cultural schizophrenia that is the frequent theme of Scottish literary criticism, Jarvie's "mixed blood"—situated within the context of the continuous acts of literal and figurative border crossings in the novel—figures as a counterpart to the hybridity that we have seen embodied in Rob.

Consanguinity that signals national formation through a cultural and political union is, of course, a common trope in Scott's work. In *Waverley* the marriage of Edward Waverley and Rose Bradwardine signals a new era of Lowland Scottish/English reconciliation and the final achievement of the union, symbolized and catalyzed by their future Scotch-English offspring. In the same vein, the marriage of Frank Osbaldistone and Diana Vernon could be said to enact a reconciliation between Jacobite and Hanoverian, Catholic and Protestant, as consanguinity is aligned with progressivism and the collapsing of cultural difference into homogeneity, which is the requisite for the consolidation of an imperial Great Britain. Yet consanguinity also works to much different purposes in *Rob Roy*, producing an altogether different vision of national formation and the relation between the nation's past and present. That the consanguinity that unites Highlander and Lowlander in *Rob Roy* has taken place several generations *before* the action of the novel commences, rather than at novel's end, undoes the historical scheme of national formation that Scott's novels are supposed to inaugurate. Rather

than marking some final act of Highland/Lowland reconciliation within a framework of teleological certainty, consanguinity in *Rob Roy* is testament to the continuous and repetitive process of cross-cultural national “production” as the nation is forged through acts of “intercourse,” past, present, and future. In this Scott undermines the historiographical project of earlier writers such as Macpherson and Pinkerton, who sought to trace the nation’s racial origins by disentangling the long history of miscegenation. Rather, Scott seizes on the fact of miscegenation to envision a new notion of national collectivity in the modern world. The dynamics of interchange in the border zone between the primitive and the civilized in *Rob Roy*, then, form the basis of a national consciousness marked by an awareness of ambiguity, of multiplicity, of contradiction. It is this border consciousness, foregrounding as it does the primitive’s uncanny relation to the modern world, that Scott articulates in *Rob Roy* and that he would “perform” during the king’s visit.

CHIEF OF THE NATION

Kinship is a central trope in Scott’s imagining of the nation in *Rob Roy*, the vehicle for the assertion of national collectivity established through the continuous circulation of blood across Scotland and across generations. If Scott acknowledges the nation’s profound ethnic divisions, he celebrates its profound *clannishness* as well. Moreover, it is this particularly Highland register of kinship that Scott evokes through his deployment of Highland motifs during George IV’s visit to Edinburgh, as he writes himself into his national narrative during the visit, playing “cousin to the Highlander” by wearing the Campbell tartan of his great-great-grandmother for the procession of the king to Holyroodhouse on Thursday, August 15. John Gibson Lockhart would later gently poke fun at Scott’s claims of Highland ancestry, suggesting that Scott “taught himself to look on the clans and chiefs with almost as much affection and respect as if he had had more than a scantling of blood in his veins” (5:206). A “scantling” of Highland blood, however, allowed a Lowland-born, city-dwelling lawyer to proclaim himself, like Jarvie, a clansman of the Slioch MacDiarmid and therefore kin to the most celebrated Campbell of them all, Rob Roy. Lockhart mistakes Scott’s identification when he writes that Scott played the part of “Baron Bradwardine” to King George’s “Prince Charlie.” Rather, Scott was playing the role of Bailie Nicol Jarvie in his performance of the nation-as-tribe.

In the 1829 introduction to *Rob Roy*, Scott not only carefully delineates Rob’s particular genealogy but provides a brief general summary of Highland clan structure:

Without puzzling ourselves and our readers with the intricacies of Highland genealogy, it is enough to say, that after the death of Allaster MacGregor of Glenstrae, the clan, discouraged by the unremitting persecution of their enemies, seem not to have had the means of placing themselves under the command of a single CHIEF. According to their places of residence and immediate descent, the several families were led and directed by Chieftains, which, in the Highland acceptance, signifies the head of a particular branch of a tribe, in opposition to Chief, who is the leader and commander of the whole name. (15)

Scott here acknowledges the complex variances of Highland kinship, but in this summary and in his careful tracing of the progress of Rob's family tree—from his clan's semi-mythic progenitor, Dugald Ciar Mohr, to the fate of Rob's sons and their offspring in Scott's time—Scott displays, by early nineteenth-century standards, a well-informed and nuanced understanding of Highland clan structures. *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland*, a new edition to which Scott had only recently contributed material, is a likely source for Scott's understanding of the ways in which kinship ties were integral to Highland social identity and formed the basis of political and social alliances. Scott's ideas concerning the general nature of patriarchal bonds in a tribal society and, indeed, his attraction to tribalism, however, seem to be informed largely by the work of Adam Ferguson.¹⁴

In his *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, Ferguson contrasts the relative strength of social ties in "barbarian" societies—the middle stage in Ferguson's three-stage scheme—with the relative weakness of the social ties of advanced, "polished" societies, like his own. While the "bands" of polished societies are based on relations of commerce, those of tribal barbarian societies are based on kinship and mutual affection. Ferguson laments, as does Smith, the debilitating and divisive effects of the division of labor in "polished" societies, which weakens social "bands" and produces wholesale alienation among the "lower orders," whose life of toil and lack of education allows no cultivation of refined taste or aesthetic appreciation. However, whereas Smith stresses the importance of easy access to education to strengthen the ties between all segments of a society, Ferguson, a former chaplain in the 42nd (Black Watch) Regiment, looks to soldiering as the instrument to rebind a society. He lauds the "sanguine affection" and "devoted patriotism" that characterized barbarian societies of the early Greeks and Romans, where the "tribute" of national allegiance was "paid in blood." "Let those examples," Ferguson writes,

be compared with the spirit which reigns in a commercial state, where men may be supposed to have experienced, in its full extent, the interest which

individuals have in the preservation of their country. It is here indeed, if ever, that man is sometimes found a solitary being: he has found an object which sets him in competition with his fellow-creatures, and he deals with them as he does with his cattle and his soil, for the sake of the profits they bring. The mighty engine which we suppose to have formed society, only tends to set its member at variance, or to continue their intercourse after the bands of affection are broken. (19)

Ferguson later assesses the ties of the modern commercial state in gendered terms, lamenting the relative “effeminacy” of the latter. His desire to invigorate these national bands, to masculinize them, is behind Ferguson’s own avocation of a strong Scottish militia, a citizen soldiery whose members would be tied together by the bonds of mutual devotion and common sacrifice for the nation.¹⁵

As we shall see in the next chapter, Scott had a lifelong interest in soldiering and military history, and the military spectacle of both Highland and Lowland uniforms was a key feature of Scott’s Scottish self-fashioning during the king’s visit. However, Scott’s greatest indebtedness to Ferguson is reflected in the ways in which the former seized on the possibilities of the power of tribal bands to ensure the nation’s continued coherence. Moreover, this construction of the nation-as-tribe required a concomitant reconstruction of its monarch as “chief.” The Highland ties of kinship, expressed through the concept of the “clan”—which emphasizes the individual’s connection not only to the tribe but also to its chief through direct patrilineal blood ties—tied the monarch to the nation in quite a distinctive way.

Critics such as John Prebble and Gerald Finley have linked George IV’s visit with the process of Scotland’s cultural assimilation into an English-dominated British hegemony.¹⁶ Prebble summarizes the ideological effects of Scott’s backward-looking performance:

A bogus tartan caricature of [Scotland] had been drawn and accepted . . . and it would develop in perspective and colour. With the ardent encouragement of an Anglo-Scottish establishment . . . Walter Scott’s Celtification continued to seduce his countrymen, and thereby prepared them for political and industrial exploitation. (*The King’s Jaunt* 364)

More recently, however, McCracken-Flesher argues that Scott refashioned the British monarch, appropriating the image of the king for his own national purposes. Examining the interplay of national signs as both a narrative and as an economic value, McCracken-Flesher describes how Scott recoded the king by placing him in a forward-looking Scottish circulation

of signs in which he and his Scottish subjects have “mutual value” (*Possible Scotlands*, 73–113). Scott inscribed George as Scotland’s king throughout the visit: in the grand procession from Holyroodhouse, the traditional home of Scotland’s monarch, to Edinburgh Castle; the banners that festooned the buildings along Leith Walk proclaiming George “Scotia’s King” and carrying the motto “Welcome to the land of your ancestors”; or the silver St. Andrew’s Cross, inscribed *Rìgh Albainn gu Bragh*, “Long Life to the King of Scotland,” which Scott himself presented to George. By “Scotching” the king as he circulated in Scotland, Scott renegotiated the idea of the nation, allowing him to emphasize the link between blood ties and royal legitimacy.

Scott initiated the king’s performance in Scotland even before the royal barge landed at Leith. Two weeks before the king’s arrival, Scott penned in haste *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and Others in Prospect of his Majesty’s Visit by an Old Citizen*. Sold at a price of one shilling and, in keeping with Scott’s literary anonymity, without attribution, the *Hints* was Scott’s chapbook for the nation, providing the general populace with detailed instructions on how to perform before their king. The thirty-two-page work also represents one of the clearest examples of the importance Scott placed on kinship ties. Distinguishing between the import of the king’s visit to Ireland the year before, which Scott contextualizes within a historical framework of long-standing English suzerainty, Scott is careful to emphasize that George comes to Edinburgh as *Scotland’s own king* based on ancestral ties of blood, and, as such, he comes to Scotland not as a foreign overlord but as a distant cousin habiting in the south:

George IV. comes hither as the descendent of a long line of Scottish Kings. The blood of the heroic Robert Bruce—the blood of the noble, the enlightened, the generous James I. is in his veins. Still more, he is our kinsman. While our Douglasses, our Stewarts, our Hamiltons, our Bruces, all our high nobility, are his acknowledged relations—It is not too much to say, that there is scarcely a gentleman of any of the old Scottish families who cannot, in some way or other, “count kin” with the royal house from which our Sovereign is descended. Nay, in this small country, blood has been so much mingled, that it is not to be doubted by far the greater part of our burgesses and yeomen are entitled to entertain similar pretensions. In short, we are the CLAN, and our King is the CHIEF. Let us, on this happy occasion, remember that it is so; and not only behave towards him as a father, but to each other, as if we were, in the words of the old song, “ae man’s bairns.” (*Hints* 6–7)

Scott’s emphasis on national kinship in this passage can be read as part of a strategy to suggest that all Scots (of the gentry, at least) can claim kin to the

monarch and thus can identify in some small part in Scott's Tory extravaganza.¹⁷ Yet this passage also identifies kinship as the mechanism by which the sovereign is linked to the nation and the nation with itself, as Scots claim "cousin" with other Scots and with the nation's own nobility and king. There is also in this passage a telling figurative shift in Scott's formulation of the king that anticipates the central role the Highlands would play in Scott's national pageant. After situating the king within the context of Scotland's royal family tree, Scott shifts his terms in the last two sentences, moving from the general to the particular to evoke kinship as the basis for sovereignty in a particularly Highland mode. This perhaps too-easy substitution of the "Highland" for the "Scottish" could be said to epitomize the general import of his pageant plans in the minds of his critics. Yet if this is an instance of Scott's Celtification of Scotland's king, it is more figurative than literal. By evoking the particular (Highland) to illustrate a key aspect of the general (Scotland), Scott does not necessarily elide the former in favor of the latter; instead, both are left to coexist. Nevertheless, it is a Highland notion of kinship to which Scott grants the last word, and the sentiment that the nation is a "clan" and that George is its "chief" would be brought to the forefront throughout the king's visit.

The *Hint's* description of the relationship between the king and his Scottish subjects as one between a chief and his clan was constantly reiterated during George's stay. As Robert Mudie reports in his detailed *Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland*, Scott toasted the king at a dinner at Dalkeith House on the last night of the king's stay. As the king was entertained by twelve of "the tenants of Lord Breadalbane and Lord Fife" dancing strathspeys and reels to the music of the bagpipe, Scott filled his "glass of Atholl brose" and "drank 'to the Chief of the Clans, the King,' which he explained in Gaelic to the Highlanders" (Mudie 286). Following Scott's own understanding of Highland honorifics, George's status as "chief" grants him a patrilineal authority over Scotland's clan chieftains. Yet in toasting the king as chief of the nation, Scott also redefines the relationship between the sovereign and his subjects. From his frequent legal dealings in the Highlands alone, Scott was well aware that the relationship between a Highland chief of his own time—such as between Alasdair Ranaldson MacDonell and the clan Macdonell of Glengarry—was largely a contractual one, a relationship between landlord and tenant. Yet Scott's understanding even of the power of a contemporary Highland chief seems also influenced again by his reading of *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland*. Edward Burt, writing in 1754, suggests the ways in which more traditional relations of power can still hold precedent in the Highlands. He writes:

[The] Power of the Chiefs is not supported by Interest, as they are Landlords, but as lineally descended from the old Patriarchs, or Fathers of the Families; for they hold the same Authority when they have lost their Estates, as may appear from several, and particularly one who commands in his Clan, though, at the same Time, they maintain him, having nothing left of his own. (2:108)

The cohesiveness of the clan is predicated not only on kinship but through an identification with, and absolute fealty to, the clan chief, who represents a direct link to the clan's mythical progenitor. The unlimited authority granted to the chief in Highland society was often compared in Scott's time to the despotic rule characteristic of other primitive societies, particularly in arguments that favored continued economic and social "improvement" in the Highlands. Though Scott himself invites such a comparison in *Rob Roy*, alluding to the despotic "Oriental" power that Rob has within his own Highland clachan, Scott's deployment of Highland terms to describe the nature of the king's rule seems more in keeping with the sympathetic portrait of tribal ties in Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Ferguson's clanhead is the idealized embodiment of heroic masculine qualities that make him a natural "leader among equals":

The chieftain, sufficiently distinguished from his tribe, to excite their admiration, and to flatter their vanity by a supposed affinity to his noble descent, is the object of veneration, not of their envy: he is considered as the common bond of connection, not as their common master; is foremost in danger, and has a principal share in their troubles: his glory is placed in the number of his attendants, in his superior magnanimity and valour; that of his followers, in being ready to shed their blood in his service. (101)

Ferguson's reference to the "common bonds of connection" alludes to the "pretense of blood" that was thought to link the chief with his people and, through him, with each other.¹⁸ In addition, Ferguson describes how the tribal bond between chief and clan is largely a reciprocal one that entails mutual obligation and self-sacrifice. Describing the reciprocity of Highland clanship bonds, Burt writes:

[T]he Chief, even against the Laws, is to protect his Followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their Leader in Clan Quarrels, must free the Necessitous from their Arrears of Rent, and maintain such who, by accidents, are fallen to total Decay. . . . [A]s the meanest among them

pretend to be his Relations by Consanguinity, they insist upon the Privilege of taking him by the Hand wherever they meet him. (2:108–109)

For Ferguson, the bond of reciprocity is contrasted with the arbitrary rule of monarchs in advanced societies, which he associates with the entrenchment of private property and of growing class distinction, with its tendency toward ruthless self-interest and corruption.

By making the nation's monarch a "chief," Scott reorients the relationship between the modern sovereign and subject. The reciprocal bond between a chief and his clan, Scott suggests, is one felt more in the heart than in the head. As "father" to his people, the king-as-chief, through admiration and affinity, is made immanent in their lives; his rule is unmediated, displacing notions of rule based on law or constitutional settlement. The king's sojourn in Scotland was therefore not a "visit" but a "return," "the familial intensity" of which, writes McCracken-Flesher, "founded in body and blood achieved the effect of repetition and authorization" (*Possible Scotlands* 79). In this way, Scott's construction of the king circulated in opposition to alternative constructions of the sovereign voiced during the visit. For example, the Whiggish *Scotsman* took pains in its account of the visit to emphasize that Scotland received the king as "the head of a constitutional government," labeling him "the CHIEF MAGISTRATE OF THE STATE." The paper also criticized the "stage directions" of the author of the *Hints*, which made the Scottish people appear too servile before their monarch ("The King's Arrival and Landing," August 17, 1822, 250). If, however, Scott's "tribalization" of the monarch by implication grants the king a degree of power that exceeds Whiggish limitations based on contract, it also "levels" the monarch, downplaying the distancing hierarchies of class and instead foregrounding a "natural" authority based on kinship. In this way, George's donning of the Stewart tartan while in Edinburgh represents not simply an expression of political reconciliation through a sentimental co-optation of Jacobite ideology, as Pittock and others have argued, but a recapitulation of Scott's vision of the nation-as-tribe and the importance of blood as the king is proclaimed once and again a Highland chief.

(IN)AUTHENTICITY AND THE HIGHLAND DRESS

Contemporary invective against Scott's pageantry was less concerned with his lineage claims than with his sartorial ones. During the royal levee held in the afternoon of August 17, more than twelve hundred gentlemen of Scotland were presented to their king dressed in an elaborate Highland costume,

which included a kilt of Stewart tartan, and for many of Scott's contemporaries, the appearance of the king in grandiose "Highland" garb capped the ridiculousness and fraudulence of the entire visit.¹⁹ For Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, the king's appearance was symptomatic of Scott's national misrepresentation:

A great mistake was made by the Stage Managers—one that offended all the southron Scots; the King wore at the Levee the highland dress. I daresay he thought the country all highland, expected no fertile plains, did not know the difference between the Saxon and the Celt. (2:165–67)

James Stuart of Dunearn's description of the king's appearance echoes Grant's, but Dunearn pointedly blames the stage manager by name: "The [king] was dressed in a tartan. Sir Walter had ridiculously made us appear a nation of Highlanders, and the bagpipe and the tartan was the order of the day" (Maxwell, *Creevey Papers* 1:45). Lockhart has no harsh words for the king "who," he writes, "did look a most stately and imposing person in that beautiful dress" (*Memoirs* 5:203). Instead he displaces his criticism onto the king's close friend and confidant, Sir William Curtis, the Lord Mayor of London. Curtis, also present at the levee, was also "equipped, from a sudden impulse of loyal ardor, in an equally complete set of the self-same conspicuous Stuart tartans" (5:203). Lockhart writes that it was *this* "portentous apparition," not the king's, that "cast an air of ridicule and caricature over the whole of Sir Walter's Celtified pageantry" (5:204).

The letter writer who styled himself "A Goth" in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* used the occasion of George's wearing the tartan to launch a vituperative attack on the inappropriateness of wearing the tartan and of praising Highland contributions to the nation:

[W]ho are the Highlanders that have done such feats either in arts or arms, as to entitle them to lend a garb, or any thing else in the shape of distinction, to the Scottish people? Was Bruce a Highlander? Or Wallace? Or James I? Or Sir James Douglas? Or any of his swarthy line? Where is the historian, the poet, the sage, for whom we have to thank the Celts? No, we are a Gothic people, we speak a Gothic tongue; and we have no more to do with plaids and kilts than the English have to do with the leeks of Plinlimmon. ("The King," vol.12 [September 1822]: 357)

By insisting that the Scots were an English-speaking Gothic people and not a Gaelic-speaking Celtic one, the writer echoes the racial arguments of John Pinkerton in the previous century, as national costume becomes the

occasion to rekindle the debate on race that Ossian sparked several generations before. Tartan, in short, represents for this writer the bogus costume of a bankrupt race of people that existed only on the margins of Scottish national life.

The contemporary criticism of the king's visit illustrates the central role that the question of authenticity played in the use of Highland material. Scott's Celtification was attacked invariably on the grounds of its *inauthenticity*, both because it misrepresented Scotland as Highland and because it appropriated doubtful Highland traditions willy-nilly. Thus Lockhart and others condemned the implausible appearance of the king-as-Highlander as part of the Scott-induced "hallucination" that had cast itself over the whole of the king's visit. The proliferation of outlandish Highland costumes was simply representative of the theatricality that had overtaken Scott and the city: The king was playing at something he was not, a Scottish Highlander.²⁰ The question of authenticity thus undergirds the critique of Scott's national performance. Also, by premising an essential, stable—if often ill-defined—"Highland tradition" set against non-Highland traditions, such a critique works to consolidate the idea of a Highland world set apart from the nation's geographical and cultural "core" while anticipating later critics such as Nairn and Pittock, who argue that Scott's vision of the Highlands represents a corruption or deformation.

The uniformity by which Scott's contemporary detractors grounded their criticism in claims of authenticity is illustrated by Alasdair Macdonell of Glengarry's critique of Scott's pageantry in his letter to the editor of the *Edinburgh Observer*, published in early September. Glengarry focuses his ire on the performance of the Celtic Society, and he clearly wants to position himself as a bona fide Highlander when he attacks this performance as a "burlesque" of actual Highland traditions. Though technically a member of the Celtic Society at the time of the king's visit, Glengarry earlier had formed his own Highland society, pointedly calling it the "Society of *True* Highlanders," and in his attack on the Celtic Society he reveals the criteria by which he defines Highland authenticity. Describing the society as "an incongruous assemblage of all ranks, that have no one common bond of union among them," Glengarry asserts that its members

neither speak the language, nor know how to put on the garb of the "Gael"; and yet, *without possessing the blood, or the manly frame* of that interesting race, or any other ostensible cause whatever, they barefacedly *masked themselves* in the Highland garb, and, trusting to the cloak of this *assumed character . . . the distinctive mark of the chieftain of old!* ("To the Editor of

the *Observer* [Continued from Monday's Paper]," September 5, 1822, [3]; emphasis in original)

In turn, then, authenticity is determined by language, by cultural know-how, by race, and, lastly, by physiognomy. Glengarry later in his letter returns to the issue of race, describing the ethnic and racial backgrounds of individual members of the Celtic Society to impugn their "purity":

I believe there are some broken Highlanders on their list, belonging to almost every clan in the Highlands, *my own not excepted*. I have seen a mulattoe, a Jew—son to the vender of the Balm of Gilead, and some other foreigners equally preposterous, appear in the George's Street Assembly Rooms, with scarfs almost down to their heels . . . but they withdrew themselves quietly and sensibly, on getting a hint through [the assistant secretary] to their society. (emphasis in original)

Referring to "broken" Highlanders, mulattos, and Jewish members of the society, Glengarry reveals how the more fluid notions of race of Macpherson's time had hardened by 1822 into a kind of Highland racism. Glengarry's anxiety about Highland racial purity and the need to cast out the foreign and the impure echo the rigid sentiments of Helen MacGregor in *Rob Roy* and anticipates a more ugly strain of British racism to come.

If, however, as he did in *Rob Roy*, Scott during the king's visit at times affirms a bifurcated Scottish national identity by affirming the cultural, linguistic, and even racial integrity of the Highlands—which reinforces its position as an intranational site of difference—he also destabilizes this structure, holding it in abeyance, as he foregrounds the syncretizing processes of intercultural exchange. The Highlands become a site of the negotiation of the nation as Scott seeks to work out the contradictions of Scottish national identity, contradictions which had preoccupied Macpherson, Pinkerton, and other Scottish intellectuals several generations before. In doing so, Scott stakes out an alternative imagining of the Highlands from one that lays claim to a pure or originary "race."

Indeed, as sartorial misrepresentation is the sign of inauthenticity among Scott's critics, so does habit of dress become a sign of the fluidity of national identity in Scott's narrative of the nation. During the king's visit, non-Highland members of the Celtic Society like Scott happily "cross-dress," darning the "Garb of old Gaul," just as Rob Roy wears "breeks" when he is in Glasgow—though he wears the "Hieland habit among the hills." In *Rob Roy*, Scott anachronistically assigns particular "setts" or plaid patterns to

particular clans: After a scuffle in the inn on the Highland line, Jarvie offers to replace the singed tartan of his Highland opponent with a new one of his “ain clan-colours.” Yet Scott also points to the ways that the tartan commodifies cross-cultural expression: Though tartan in the novel identifies its wearer as “Highland,” its site of production is Glasgow. Further, Jarvie need not make special arrangements to have the tartan sent from Glasgow, as it turns out, since his Highland opponent already has a cousin “that carries eggs doun frae Glencroe, [who] will ca’ for’t about Martinmas” (326). Also, in addition to his part-time habit of wearing trousers in Glasgow, Rob also buys his hose in the city, where it once had been manufactured by Jarvie’s father. Thus Rob is dependent on Lowland weavers for at least part of his “Highland” costume, as was certainly the case for Scots who wore the kilt during the king’s visit. As Hugh Cheape has shown, the textile establishments of men such as William Wilson of Bannockburn produced much of the tartan worn during the visit.²¹

Both Scott and the king wore the tartan only part-time during the visit. In fact both men seem to have worn the tartan only once or twice. Scott, who suffered from a mysterious skin rash during the visit, wore the Campbell tartan—but in the form of close-fitting Highland *triubhas* or “trews,” not the kilt—and dictated in the *Hints* that at the Grand Highland Ball, “no Gentleman is to be allowed to appear in any thing but the ancient Highland costume, with the exception of those in uniform” (*Hints* 26). Throughout the visit, however, Scott also wore the blue “Windsor Uniform” prescribed for gentlemen who lacked an alternative affiliation. As for the king, his kilt of Stewart tartan was only one of the many costumes he donned during his visit. The ease, then, in which Highlander and Sassanach alike could put on and then take off the tartan suggests that wearing the tartan represents neither a bogus parody nor a faithful expression of some pristine, authentic Highland tradition. This is perhaps illustrated by the sentiments of William McKenzie, a founding member of the Celtic Society, whose response in *Blackwood’s* to Glengarry’s attack argues that it was never the intention of the society’s members to pass themselves off as authentic Highlanders. Rather, McKenzie writes, the society is “open to every gentlemen whose heart ‘warms to the tartan,’ of whatever kindred, country, or religion” (“The King,” vol. 12 [September 1822]: 368).

Rather than marking a critical juncture in the romanticized Celtification of the nation, then, the king’s visit marks the moment when wearing the tartan, free from the constraints of a fixation on authenticity, becomes a flexible, spectacular mode for expressing national sentiment, regardless of the origins of the wearer. As both Highlander and Lowlander don the Highland dress, national identification itself is revealed to be fluid and

contingent, based not simply on birth but on circumstance, inclination, and particular cultural contexts. It is this understanding which allows the tartan to become an expression of a *Scottish* presence around the world and in a variety of contexts, from diasporic celebration in North America that evoked an (imaginary) Highland homeland to imperial spectacles of *British* power in the subcontinent, Africa, and elsewhere.

Partha Chatterjee provides a roughly analogous example of the fluidity of tartan as a sign of national collectivity in his discussion of "caste" (or *jāti*), which he argues resists the universalizing assumptions of Western nationalist thought. Examining the multiple and wide-ranging definitions of *jāti* in Indian society, Chatterjee points out that "one could, obviously and without any contradiction, belong to several *jāti*," which highlights the contextual nature of the collectivity that *jāti* evokes.²² Nevertheless, the concept of *jāti* works in the imagining of contextual "collective solidarities." The multiple forms in which these solidarities are expressed, Chatterjee writes, proclaim "each time a bond of kinship, a natural bond that unites all who share the same origin and who therefore must share the same destiny" (222). The kinship bonds evoked through *jāti* provide for a flexible notion of national solidarity that, like Scott's notion of clan, resists a binary exclusivity and too-rigid oppositional stance.

While I do not wish to suggest that Scott's vision of national collectivity is a straightforward instance of Scottish resistance to English domination, Chatterjee's postcolonial analysis helps us to understand the ways in which Scott seized upon the manifold meanings of "clan" and deployed both the term and its myriad associations to articulate a Scottish solidarity while acknowledging the complexities of internal ethnic division and of national identity in a dynamic modern world. At the same time, Scott does not elide ethnic difference, as his evocation of Highland/Lowland "clanship" is limited to particular cultural contexts. Similarly, as Chatterjee writes of *jāti*, "[t]he language [of kinship] affords the possibility of imagining bonds of affinity, but it does this precisely by imposing restrictions on their free flow. There are no substantive affinities that define identity regardless of context" (222).

In what specific context, then, does it become appropriate for the Lowlander to express his kinship, his affinity, his solidarity with the Highlander by wearing a kilt? Perhaps exactly in the context of highly formalized and ritualized arenas such as a royal visit, where Scots were called upon to "perform" their national identity, their collectivity, before their sovereign in a dramatic spectacle of Scottish difference. It is in this context that Scott's Highland vision in *Rob Roy* and during the king's visit must be understood not as a metonymic misrepresentation or a fake burlesque of Highland tradition, but as an avowedly invented imagining of collectivity in a modern

nation, where people and blood circulate freely throughout. Scott shows us that the nation is always contingent and contextual, so when the king's yacht dropped below the horizon as it sailed back to England, Edinburgh gentlemen put the breeks back on and tucked the kilts away, to await the next performance of the nation-as-tribe.



CHAPTER THREE

Britain's "Imperial Man"

Walter Scott, David Stewart, and Highland Masculinity

The spectacle of Highland sartorial traditions that Scott displayed before George IV in Edinburgh in 1822 was not only a "national performance" of Scottish difference; it was also a performance that was overwhelmingly militant and male. Indeed, though many of Scott's critics may have seen too much tartan material in the performance, they would have been quite familiar with the scene of tartan uniforms parading on Edinburgh's streets, as Scotland's Highland regiments had made frequent appearances during the long duration of the wars with Napoleonic France. Not six years before the king's visit, in March 1816, Edinburgh had witnessed the triumphant procession of the Black Watch regiment, which had taken part in the great victory at Waterloo. An officer who marched at the head of the regiment described the overwhelming reaction of the city to this spectacle:

[I]t seemed as if two-thirds of the houses and workshops in the city had been emptied . . . the [crowd] was a solid moving mass, pressed together, as if in a frame. The pipers and band could not play for want of room, and were obliged to put up their instruments. Spacious as is the High Street of the city, not a foot of it was unoccupied; and the fronts of its lofty houses appeared as if alive, every window being crowded with heads, chiefly those of ladies. (Stewart 2:67)

In addition, all members of the regiment were given free tickets to the theater and Scott himself organized a public dinner for the officers. By trotting out the Highland uniforms during the king's visit in a series of quasi-military drills, reviews, and processions, Scott was of course trading on the popularity of the image of the Highland military man, who, in a variety of popular

press accounts which celebrated his fearlessness, hardiness, and—above all—unswerving loyalty, had come to epitomize *British* military prowess while retaining all the distinctiveness of a particularly “national” corps of men.

Scott, however, was not alone in orchestrating this performance, and, particularly in its militarist aspects, the pageantry of the king’s visit was indebted above all to another member of the planning committee, Colonel David Stewart of Garth, who was Scott’s drillmaster and costume authority, his “Toy Captain,” in Lockhart’s words. Stewart’s expertise on Highland tradition and military exploit was unmatched. Stewart was a decorated veteran of thirty-five years service in the British army and had lost the writing ability of his right arm as a result of wounds suffered at Alexandria and Maida. Stewart also had been instrumental in guiding the work of the Highland Society in producing a catalog of clan tartans, and he had just published in March an exhaustive and well-received two-volume account of Highland society and Highland regiments, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, which he presented to the king during the visit. No one, with the exception of Scott himself, was better suited to understand the calculated uses of the spectacle of military masculinity in prompting an appropriately pro-British patriotic response during the king’s visit. It was Stewart who was in charge of the last-minute details of the king’s Highland costume and who had pronounced the king “a verra *pretty* man,” which for the Highlander signifies—as Scott in *Waverley* already had glossed eight years before—“not handsome, but [a] stout warlike fello[w].”¹ It was also Stewart who had described in the *Sketches* the “curious effect” the Highland garb had on its wearer, writing that “however clownish a young man appears in his pantaloons . . . if he dresses in the kilt and bonnet . . . he assumes a new kind of character, holds his head erect, throws his shoulders back, and walks with a strut and mien that might become a Castilian, or a knight of Old Spain” (fn. 2:499).

The lavish attention to detail that Scott and Stewart devoted to the male Highland costume is testament both to the symbolic value of masculine display and to the central role of audience in the construction of masculinity.² It also illustrates the achievement of iconic status of the figure of the Highland soldier and the unique expression of manliness the figure had come to embody, not simply during the king’s visit, but in the general wartime climate that had existed during the lives of an entire generation of Britons like Scott and Stewart. Since the latter half of the eighteenth century, Britain and France had been engaged in a persistent struggle for imperial dominance around the world, culminating in the wars against Napoleon.

The final chapter of this struggle, which lasted from 1803 to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, not only presented Britain with the real threat of invasion, but absorbed much of the nation's resources and manpower, transforming British military and fiscal institutions in the process.³ Britain's army would battle its enemy not just on the Continent, but in North America, the West Indies, Africa, and Asia as well. Scotland would send a disproportionate number of men to fight in the army, and many of these men would serve in specifically Highland regiments, whose total number increased dramatically from their inception. As Robert Clyde writes: "Between the beginning of the Seven Years' War in 1756 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, over 48,300 men were recruited from the Highlands and Islands to serve in twenty-three line regiments and twenty-six fencible regiments of the British Army, not including the Black Watch."⁴

The idealization of the Highland male figure in the work of both men points to the ways in which ideas of national identity and gender are tied together. More specifically, the image of the Highland soldier is an aspect of British nationalist representation that linked particular modes of masculinity with national identity within the special arena of warfare. As Graham Dawson argues in his study of nineteenth-century stories of "soldier-heroes," particular modes of masculinity and national imagery were mutually constituted.⁵ In these accounts, warfare is configured as a unique cultural space in which men can achieve the fullest expression of both their masculinity and their allegiance to the nation; war is the supreme test of the nation's will as it is the supreme test of the fighting men who embody it. At the same time however, if, as Dawson suggests, narratives about soldier heroes are both "underpinned by, and powerfully reproduce, conceptions of gender and nation as unchanging essences" (11), it is important to recognize that this process itself is not an unchanging essence but a product of the particular social and cultural dynamics of its time and place. In other words, the processes by which narratives about soldier-heroes engage with and reinforce national and gender concepts have a history themselves.⁶

Indeed, in the historical context in which the Highland figure rose to prominence, the image of the soldier-hero was still largely a contested one. Moreover, if, as Dawson suggests, certain forms of manliness have met with "disapprobation" and "repression" in explicitly nationalist terms, it is important to note that these terms are often situated within an oppositional framework in which the nation's soldiers are defined in relation to the antithetical masculinity of its enemies, its Other. In the specific historical context in which Scott and Stewart wrote, the figure of the noble Highland fighting man could be said to represent an early component of the transformation in

attitudes toward the common soldier that occurred later in the nineteenth century.⁷ Yet the idealized figure of the Highlander took shape through a discourse of race and ethnicity rather than of class, as the symbolic function of the Highland warrior is always predicated on a set of anthropological assumptions that place the Highlands beyond the realm of civility. These assumptions link the “essential” suitability of the Highland man for a military life to the timeless patriarchal traditions of the Highlands and, ultimately, to the Highland topography itself, as the wild, isolating ruggedness of the terrain—and the rough patriarchal social structure that such a terrain was thought to foster—produces a “natural warrior” who from childhood develops a propensity for warfare.

I wish to label this set of anthropological assumptions “highlandism,” to call attention both to the geographical determinism that underlies it and to its comparativism, which reinforces an imperialist epistemology that assumes the universal condition of other “primitive” mountain people and spaces set apart from normative, civil “lowland” peoples and spaces. The origins of highlandism predate war with France: Even before William Pitt in 1766 famously defended recruitment in the Highlands by lauding the “hardy and intrepid race of men” from “the mountains of the north,” travel writers had remarked on their tenacious, warlike character. Yet highlandism is crucial to the rise in popularity of the figure of the Highland soldier-hero in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Without highlandism, it is safe to say, there would have been no Highland soldier-hero and, quite possibly, no regiments in the British army uniquely designated as “Highland.”

The unique position of the figure of the Highland military man, who is the subject of both a colonialist discourse that constructs him as Other and a nationalist one in which he epitomizes a set of national and gender ideals, complicates prevailing ideas about the rise and function of images of the exemplary British fighting man in the beginning of the nineteenth century. For example, the popularity of the image of the Highland soldier suggests that the foundation of Highland regiments cannot be understood simply within the context of the practical uses of atavistic ethnic groups within the modern state.⁸ In the ardent, sometimes heated patriotic rhetoric of Scott and Stewart, something more than utilitarianism is at work, as their writing brings forth not only an exemplar of a particular category of masculinity but a complex expression of nationalist feeling. I therefore wish to explore the ways in which both men—who together offered the most sustained and arguably most influential expression of the Highland male ideal in the Romantic era—emphasize the complex dynamics of difference that inform the interrelation between *multiple* masculinities within a British national framework. Their work ultimately affirms a British national solidarity in

wartime in opposition to France and a French masculinity and establishes a primitive warrior who is ideally and naturally suited for the new realities of war and military activity in the service of an expanding imperial state in a variety of deployments around the globe. Their work also articulates new conditions and new imperatives for the "normative" masculinity of the British officer who would command the Highlander. Given the complex asymmetries embedded within a masculine figure who is called upon to represent the nation and the Other at the same time, I want to call attention in this chapter to the ways in which Scott and Stewart not only foster an idealized image of the Highland soldier but create a new "imperial masculinity," a term which can describe and account for the intersections and overlaps of the energies of a nation rising to premier status as colonizer and those of subject cultures brought into the nation's cultural domination and service.

In what follows, I read Scott's *Waverley* and Stewart's *Sketches* to examine an emergent imperial Highland masculinity. Enormously influential in popularizing the image of the Highland warrior, *Waverley* depicts a complex array of British masculinities and narrates the interplay between them. My reading of *Waverley* highlights the ways in which the novel mediates varied potentialities of masculinities bought together in the arena of war and defined by class, education, and, particularly, ethnicity. As Scott himself framed the work: "[T]he object of my tale is more a description of men than of manners" (35). I wish to look at the ways in which the novel not only works to effect the masculinization and militarization of the Highlands but is informed by a kind of ethnography of masculinity. As the novel brings a variety of masculine typographies into play—English, French, Scottish Lowland and Highland, and others—it sets them against each other, staging the interactions between them. Thus the idealization of the Highland warrior is constituted in the novel in relation to other, non-Highland masculinities. This is particularly the case as Scott contrasts Highland masculinity with that mode of masculinity he wants to code as "French." In looking at the relationship between the Highland warrior masculinity and alternate masculine modes in *Waverley*, I also wish to trace the ways in which the novel provides a teleology of "loyalty transference" that neatly accounts for the shift in allegiance from that of clansman to his chief to that of the Highland soldier to his generally non-Highland commanding officer in the British army.⁹ This loyalty transference not only works to affirm highlandism but also lays the foundation for new understanding of an imperial military masculinity.

In turning to Stewart's *Sketches*, I argue that if Stewart mines more deeply the ethnographic vein that Scott had mined in *Waverley* several years before, he does so from a profoundly different position. Situating himself in his work as a Gaelic-speaking "native" who witnessed firsthand the traumatic

effects of clearance—not only among people in the Highlands themselves but overseas, among the Highland soldiers he commanded—Stewart works to undermine the rigid demarcation between ethnographer and subject culture that informs Scott's analysis of the Highlands in *Waverley*. At the same time, Stewart offers a searing indictment of the ideology of "improvement" that recent critics such as Womack argue is underpinned by the romantization of the Highlands. Both affirming and destabilizing the highlandism that Scott set out in *Waverley*, the *Sketches* is not simply the inauguration of Highland "ethnography" proper, as some critics have described, but an early salvo in the history of Highland resistance, an "autoethnography," as Mary Louise Pratt theorizes, that describes instances in which colonized subjects "undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms" (7; emphasis in original).

SCOTT'S MASCULINE ETHNOGRAPHY

The figure of the Highland warrior united three obsessions of Scott's life and writing—the Highlands, the military, and war with France—and an exhaustive cataloging of Scott's use of the figure would require much more space than I provide here. In the interim of the war years, Scott devoted his intellectual energy and writing to an insistent and sometimes strident avocation of a hard-line interventionist policy against Napoleonic France. This avocation found expression in both his journalistic writing and his literary work, which made frequent use of the figure of the Highland warrior. For Scott, the war effort provided a grand forum in which his ideas on military strategy, masculine heroism, and the progress of civilizations catalyzed his nationalist agenda.

The publication and initial success of *Waverley* was exactly contemporaneous with Napoleon's initial defeat in 1814, and several recent critics have paralleled *Waverley*'s development and thematic concerns with the unfolding events of the war. John Sutherland, for example, writes that it is "instructive to correlate the second burst of *Waverley*'s composition in June 1814 with the geopolitical turmoil around Scott as he wrote his novel," which is "at heart a novel about ideological unsettlement." Sutherland argues that one can connect this unsettlement with Scott's own life: "[H]e was British and excessively patriotic during the French wars. He proudly bore the English King's commission. Yet—at the same time—he had a French wife to whom he was very attached. His son and heir, Walter, was half French" (173). More telling of Scott's preoccupation with the war, Richard Humphrey writes, is the ways in which "*Waverley* is a novel of extended journeys and military

encounters, of nations in conflict and leaders in contention, of the civilian in the battlefield and of history coming home to him and others—a novel which could understandably be seen in response to the Napoleonic age” (7).

Lockhart records that Scott's wholehearted support of the war against France was noted early on by his family and friends.¹⁰ By 1809 Scott began to expand his knowledge of military strategy and history and to devote much of his writing to support of the war effort and the passionate avocation of an aggressive interventionist policy in the Iberian Peninsula, where Napoleon's army was engaged in a prolonged struggle against Spanish guerrillas. As well, Scott's break with the *Edinburgh Review* and its editor, Francis Jeffrey, was predicated on what Scott felt was Jeffrey's insufferable support of the Whig policy of appeasement in regards to Napoleon's campaign on the Iberian peninsula. In reaction to what he felt was a particularly offensive attack on the Tory position, Scott angrily cancelled his subscription and eventually launched a pointedly Tory alternate, the *Quarterly Review*; in the lead article of its inaugural issue, Scott penned a strident critique of Whig policy and a passionate defense of British support of the Spanish guerrillas.

In 1811 Scott affirmed his support of British military effort on the peninsula in the Spenserian stanzas of *The Vision of Don Roderick*, in which the unmistakable image of the Highland soldier makes an early appearance. Dedicating the poem to “the committee of subscribers for Relief of the Portuguese sufferers,” Scott himself admitted to its overheated rhetoric, describing the poem as “a sort of rhapsody upon the affairs of the peninsula” and elsewhere as a “drum and trumpet performance.” Ostensibly, the poem recounts the prophetic visions of Don Roderick, the last Gothic king of Spain, who, as he sits in a church vault beneath Toledo, is granted a glimpse of the future progress of Spain, from the 714 invasion of the Moors (and his own downfall) to Wellington's efforts against Napoleon. Reworking the premise that Scott had adopted in his early success, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, six years before, Scott's Minstrel in *The Vision of Don Roderick* addresses the “mountains stern” and evokes a lost time of great heroic deeds when the land echoed with the songs of victory. Describing the “kindred realms” united in Wellington's army, the Minstrel casts his eyes upon the “loved warriors of the Minstrel's land” who are instantly recognizable not only by their warlike disposition but by their distinctive uniform: “Yonder your bonnets nod, your tartans wave!/The rugged form may mark the mountain band, And harsher features, and a mien more grave;/But ne'er in battle-field throb'd heart so brave,/As that which beats beneath the Scottish plaid” (2:lix). *The Vision of Don Roderick* attests to Scott's increasing fascination with the Highland warrior, as a particular expression of “Britishness”

is troped through the idealization of a multiethnic military manliness in which Scotland's celebrated "mountain band" would play a starring role. This fascination with the Highland figure would, of course, ultimately make Scott wealthy and famous, particularly after the immense success of his first novel, *Waverley*.



Critics of the *Waverley* Novels have long pointed out the links between the conflicting temperaments of masculine characters and the dialectic energy of the novel.¹¹ Alexander Welsh, for example, has shown how the "passive hero" of the *Waverley* Novels, who is aligned with expanding commercial and property interests of the time, is often contrasted with an antithetical "dark hero," who is a man of action existing outside the law and who represents anachronistic if alluring romantic energies and values. Many of the dark heroes Welsh examples in his study are Highlanders, like Rob Roy and Fergus Mac-Ivor, who embody a world beyond the Highland line, "the lawless state that civilization has overcome," to which the hero proper must venture (57).

More recently, Makdisi reads this dialectic within a much different theoretical framework, examining the ways in which *Waverley* partakes of a colonial project in the Highlands "whose objective is not only to exploit its victims, but to dispossess them and claim all of their land in order to re-encode it, re-name it, to literally re-write it and re-invent it" (71). *Waverley*, Makdisi argues, sets up a colonial dualism that the novel not only maps out in spatial and temporal terms, but embodies in key male characters. One component of this dualism is Colonel Talbot, who is the

voice of the present. An officer and a gentleman, and Englishman, a Unionist, a Hanoverian, his territorial identification is with the Lowlands and England. His position is solidly reinforced, justified, validated, and relentlessly proved correct by the narrator and the narrative. (86)

Talbot's opposite is Fergus, who, despite his education in France, "has not changed his essential quality as a Highland *laird*." Instead his education "gradually and subtly undermines his position by reinforcing the notion that no amount of Continental education and manners could improve upon his stubbornly and immutably Highland mentality and physiognomy. Fergus is a perfect specimen of the species" (87). Makdisi, as do other critics, downplays the novel's references to Fergus's Continental influences in order

to read him as the embodiment of a unique idea of Highlandness that Scott wants to consign to the past, foreclosing on the possibility of its continued existence in the present. But if we shift slightly the frame of this dialectical reading of masculine types, we can see how Scott suggests that it is *precisely* these Continental influences that not only define Fergus's character but ultimately form the basis for a condemnation and rejection of the particular expression of Jacobitism that Fergus embodies. Reading the two prominent male *Highland* characters—Fergus and his lieutenant and foster brother Evan Dhu Maccombich—not as two men cut from a single Highland cloth, but as two distinct, even competing, modes of masculinity, reveals the ways Scott offers a more nuanced, dual image of Highland masculinity that serves his nationalist vision. While the figure of Evan allows Scott to engender—in both senses of the term—the highlandism that he adumbrates in *The Vision of Don Roderick*, the figure of Fergus allows Scott to engender the particular failures of a corrupted, even effeminate, aristocratic self-interestedness that he explicitly situates within the category of “French.”

The antithetical relationship between the two figures and the national/ethnic background in which this relationship is framed are established early on, when each character first appears in the novel. Evan is the first Highlander to whom the young Englishman Edward Waverley is introduced, amid a growing cultural disorientation, as he is drawn deeper into Highland affairs toward the end of the first volume. The enchanting but dislocating aura of the Highlands, which before had made itself known only through a series of incredible accounts told secondhand to Waverley, is made manifest when the very embodiment of Highland masculinity unexpectedly walks right into the room in which Waverley is sitting:

[Waverley] started at the sight of what he had not yet happened to see, a mountaineer in his full national costume. The individual Gael was a stout, dark, young man, of low stature, the ample folds of whose plaid added to the appearance of strength which his person exhibited. The short kilt, or petticoat, showed his sinewy and clean-made limbs; the goat-skin purse, flanked by the usual defences, a dirk and steel-wrought pistol, hung before him; his bonnet had a short feather, which indicated his claim to be treated as a Duinhé-wassell, or sort of gentleman; a broadsword dangled by his side, a target hung upon his shoulder, and a long Spanish fowling-piece occupied one of his hands. (131)

From the outset, Evan's very physiognomy and costume both mark him as strangely attractive and signify the peculiarities of his culture, as his entrance signals the novel's own entry into the realm of exotic masculine

desire. Evan's appearance also initiates the reader's introduction to the "ethnographic imagination" that James Buzard has associated with the novel's work in "rendering" Scottish culture within the context of an Anglo-dominated British culture.¹² Though *Waverley* comes to depend on a variety of cultural "informants" (including Evan himself) during his early forays into the Highlands, narrative intrusions such as the one above to remark on the peculiarities of the Highland way of life only increase as *Waverley* ventures deeper into the Highlands. Ultimately it is the narrator who is positioned as the greatest authority on Highland ways, who stands outside the society he wishes to describe yet can speak comfortably on its constituents' behalf, categorizing their every action in an epistemological framework that assumes the universal processes of human societies. It is the author who in this first instance translates the semiotics of Highland costume, which enables his reader to "read" Evan's social class instantly.

The ethnographic stance of the novel—apparent, Ina Ferris has noted, in chapter titles such as "The Hold of a Highland Robber," "A Highland Feast," and "Highland Minstrelsy" (207)—requires that we read Evan not as "individual" but as "individual Gael," as representative of a particular Highland type that could be replicated in the characters of any number of Highland men. Moreover, this stance reinforces the underlying tenets of the highlandism that follows as it becomes clear that Highland typology is formed in topography: as the physique and character of the Highland man is a product of the rugged terrain in which he is born. Termed a "mountaineer," Evan leads *Waverley* on a wild journey to Fergus's mansion on hidden paths in the Highland wilderness, through the glens and bogs "by tracks which no one but a Highlander could have followed" (136). Moving up the steep Highland mountainsides, *Waverley* quickly becomes worn out with fatigue, but Evan and his Highland followers continue "without a symptom of unabated vigor, the rapid and swinging pace, or rather trot, which . . . had already brought them fifteen miles upon their journey" (136). The physical dexterity, hardiness, and cunning of the Highlander—whose knowledge of the Highland landscape is instinctive, more animal than human—are allied with "an extraordinary fierceness" in battle, which in close combat gives him "a decided superiority over those who [are] accustomed to trust much to their array and discipline" (340). In addition to these attributes, and most crucial to Scott's attraction to highlandism, is the powerful code of absolute loyalty, which is fomented by the difficult conditions of mountain life and the patriarchal ties that bind family to family and isolate the clans within their narrow glens. So intense is this code that it prompts Evan near the end of the novel to offer his life in place of his chieftain. For Scott, it is this code of loyalty, the dynamics of which I wish to examine in greater detail later

in this chapter, that separates the Highland fighting man from his English counterpart, making him an ideal "natural soldier."

Scott would continue to develop his ideas on highlandism set forth in *Waverley*, and his later work details aspects of his thinking in even greater detail. For example, Scott would use the occasion of his review of the Culloden Papers in the January 1816 issue of the *Quarterly Review* to provide a more systematic account of social bonds in the Highlands and the martial propensities they fostered, especially before 1745. In his review, Scott outlines the ways in which the topography of the Highlands determined affiliations and allegiances:

The country, though in many places so wild and savage as to be uninhabitable, contains on the sea coasts, on the sides of the lakes, in the vales of small streams, and in the more extensive straths through which larger rivers discharge themselves, much arable ground. . . . These glens, or valleys, were each the domain of a separate tribe, who loved for each other, laboured in common [and] married usually within the clan. (291)

Early in the review, Scott also digresses from his account of Highland clan-ship to remark on Mountstuart Elphinstone's 1815 account of "The Kingdom of Caubul [Kabul]" which offers, Scott writes,

curious points of parallelism between the manners of the Afghaun tribes and those of the ancient Highland clans. They resembled those oriental mountaineers in their feuds, in their adoption of auxiliary tribes, in their laws, in their modes of conducting war, in their arms, and, even in some respects, their dress. A highlander who made the amende honorable to an enemy, came to his dwelling, laid his head upon the block, or offered him his sword held by the point;—an Afghaun does the same. (288)

This comparative turn in Scott's account illustrates a key aspect of Scott's highlandism: As it places Highlanders in a unique subcategory of primitive peoples, "mountaineers," it brings Highland difference into high relief. Shifting the subject of his comparison, Scott writes that in 1745

it must have been a matter of astonishment to the subjects of the complicated and combined constitution of Great Britain, to find they were living at the next door to tribes, whose government and manners were simply and purely patriarchal, and who, in the structure of their social system, much more resembled the inhabitants of the mountains of India than those of the plains of India. (287–88)

Scott already had used this complex trope of astonishment produced by the comprehension of physical proximity and cultural disparity in *Waverley* two years before—*Waverley* cannot comprehend the reality that Highland deeds of blackmail could occur within the “otherwise well-ordered island of Great Britain” (130)—and would use it again, as we have seen, in his introduction to the 1829 Magnum Opus edition of *Rob Roy*. Disparity and affinity fascinatingly cut across time and space in a comparison that also serves to uphold the universality of the social development categories that Scott inherited from Scottish Enlightenment thinkers. Moreover, Scott reinforces here the idea that the influences of topography—not simply of geography—can bring a particular culture into being. Thus, though Scott suggests in his review that the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, as a particular historical event, was a failure marked by inefficiency and ineptitude, it nevertheless presents a singular ethnographic case study of highlandism in action.

Scott would provide an exhaustive catalog of such case studies in his nine-volume *Life of Napoleon* (1827), the first large work to be published under his own name, which represents Scott’s most sustained account of the uses of highlandism in war, particularly against the French. Beyond unfolding the successive military events in the career of its subject (who, as Elizabeth Watterson points out, doesn’t even make his first appearance until after the first seventeen chapters of the first volume),¹³ the *Life of Napoleon* represents the culmination of Scott’s lifelong fascination with military history and strategy and his ideas on the ways in which military character and behavior are inextricably linked to nationality and ethnicity.

The anthropological underpinnings of Scott’s theories on military history are highlighted in his devotion to the study of irregular military forces—such as the Vendéans fighting during the Revolutionary regime in France and the Spanish, Tyrolese, and Cossack forces fighting against Napoleon—all of whom, in Scott’s schema, notably sprung from the rugged periphery of their respective nations.¹⁴

Scott’s lavish devotion to describing the “manliness” of irregular forces serves to contextualize the allure of the Highland warrior in *Waverley*. Seen in the context of Scott’s continuing fascination and attraction to the exemplary patriotism of the peasant fighters in the war against the French, Evan represents an especially resonant figure as the Scottish and British manifestation of the “primitive warrior.” The architecture of highlandism frames Evan’s every move and attitude: His Highland birth and upbringing forge a masculinity marked by natural intrepidity, imperviousness to physical hardship, perfect acquaintance with the terrain, and utter fearlessness in battle. Evan is not only from the Highlands, he is *of* them. Highland topography is the cipher that allows us to read him and naturalizes the military tenor of his life.

THE "FRENCHIFIED" HIGHLANDER

If Evan can be said to typify the masculine character of a Duinhé-wassell, a Highland gentleman, then it stands to reason that Fergus, in the logic of highlandism, ought to typify the masculine character of a Highland chieftain. Indeed, at the outset, when Fergus is first introduced, Scott seems to suggest that Fergus, like Evan, is the embodiment of an attractive yet peculiar Highland masculinity:

Above the middle size, and finely proportioned, the Highland dress, which [Fergus] wore in its simplest mode, set off his person to great advantage. He wore the trews, or close trowsers, made of tartan, chequed scarlet and white; in other particulars, his dress strictly resembled Evan's excepting that he had no weapons save a dirk, very richly mounted with silver. (153)

Fergus is also quite fearless and can laugh at the thought of his own violent death: On the eve of battle he remarks that in the event of his demise, the money in his pocket will "go to the grenadier that knocks my brains out, and I shall take care he works hard for it" (309). Constantly awestruck in Fergus's presence, Waverley does not seem to comprehend the chieftain's ultimate fate when, as Fergus awaits execution in Carlisle Castle, Waverley muses:

Is it of Fergus Mac-Ivor they speak thus . . . or do I dream? of Fergus, the bold, the chivalrous, the free-minded—the lofty chieftain of a tribe devoted to him? Is it he, that I have seen lead the chase and head the attack,—the brave, the active, the young, the noble, the love of ladies, and the theme of song—is it he ironed like a malefactor—who is to be dragged on a hurdle to the common gallows . . . ? (467)

Fergus here, like Evan, seems to epitomize the "Northern Scot," an exotic figure of masculine desire. Yet even in the first description of Fergus, Scott works to problematize his typicalness, undermining the idea that Fergus is representative of a Highland aristocrat.

Though Scott affirms and delineates the genealogical history that establishes Fergus's legitimacy as the leader of his clan, Scott is also careful to describe the ways in which the expatriate circumstances of Fergus's more immediate, ambiguous family history have laid the foundations of his character. After his support of the failed Jacobite uprising in 1715, Fergus's father had fled to France and to the exiled court of James in St. Germain, where the father obtained employment "in the French service" and married a "lady of

rank in that kingdom” who gave birth to Fergus and his sister, Flora. Fergus’s position as heir to a Highland estate who grew up in France means that he, unlike Evan, would only gradually “become acquainted with the state of the country” and that his character would “assum[e] a mixed and peculiar tone, that could only have been acquired Sixty Years since” (156–57). Scott’s deterministic insistence that individual masculine character is always the product of the environmental conditions of a particular place and time suggest that the particular tensions and contradictions of Fergus’s “mixed” upbringing are manifested in the anomalies of his manhood. These are revealed in his rhetorical style, as, for example, when he comes upon Flora serenading Waverley beneath the Highland cataract. Before reciting bits of verse in three languages himself, Fergus exclaims:

A simple and unsublimed taste now, like my own, would prefer a jet d’eau at Versailles to this cascade with all its accompaniments of rock and roar; but this is Flora’s Parnassus, Captain Waverley, and that fountain her Helicon. It would be greatly for the benefit of my cellar if she could teach her coadjutor, Mac-Murrough, the value of its influence: he has just drunk a pint of usquebaugh to correct, he said, the coldness of the claret—Let me try its virtues. (181)

Fergus’s overly mannered, insincere courtly rhetoric—liberally sprinkled with phrases in English, French, Italian, and Gaelic and with classical allusions and references to the drinking prerogatives of both a Highland chieftain and cosmopolitan aristocrat—reveals the competing influences of his upbringing.

Not simply trained in the cosmopolitan language of the court, Fergus also wholly devotes himself to courtly intrigue. Compared in the novel to the fourteenth-century general and politician Castruccio Castracani, the subject of Machiavelli’s admiring biography, Fergus’s actions consistently bespeak his ruthless ambition and manipulative self-promotion. For example, Scott characterizes Fergus’s ascension to the command of the Black Watch company as the shrewd maneuvering of one who only seeks to expand his own power in the Highlands.¹⁵ In his campaigns against Highland “banditti” of the era, Fergus had acted

with great and suspicious lenity to those freebooters who made restitution on his summons, and offered personal submission to himself, while he rigorously pursued, apprehended, and sacrificed to justice, all such interlopers as dared to despise his admonition or commands. (158)

Fergus's failure to act impartially toward the Highlanders who came under his jurisdiction as a military commander points to his greatest failing as a Highland chieftain: Devoted to expanding his own political power alone, he cares little for the members of his clan. Though he "stretched his means to the uttermost, to maintain the rude and plentiful hospitality, which was the most valued attribute of a chieftain," Fergus also crowded his estate with a tenantry "hardy indeed, and fit for the purposes of war, but greatly outnumbering what the soil was calculated to maintain" (157). In contrast to Flora, who is devoted to vindicating her clan from "want and foreign oppression" and who is "prepared to do all, to suffer all, to sacrifice all" for the Jacobite cause, Fergus's devotion is neither to his followers nor even to the cause but only to his political advancement:

Accustomed to petty intrigue, and necessarily involved in a thousand paltry and selfish discussions, ambitious also by nature, his political faith was tintured, at least, if not tainted, by the views of interest and advancement so easily combined with it; and at the moment he could unsheathe his claymore, it might be difficult to say whether it would be the most with the view of making James Stuart a king, or Fergus Mac-Ivor an earl. (168)

Fergus's disdain for those in clan society who depend on him extends to his own family. When he concludes that an alliance between his family and Waverley's would strengthen the position of Prince Charles and therefore enhance his own influence in the Jacobite camp in Edinburgh, Fergus actively pushes his sister into the arms of Edward Waverley, disregarding her own wishes. Moreover, Scott summarizes this example of Fergus's Machiavellian self-interestedness as the product of the meeting between disparate cultural influences:

Between [Fergus's] ideas of patriarchal power and those which he had acquired in France respecting the disposal of females in marriage, any opposition from his sister, dear as she was to him, would have been the last obstacle on which he would have calculated, even had the union been less eligible. (205)

This passage is illustrative of Scott's insistent marking of Fergus's character as "French" as much as it is "Highland," and the gender codes of both cultures conspire against Flora's matrimonial choosing. Even betraying perhaps a moment of anxiety that his reader might misread Fergus as the simple embodiment of Highland aristocratic masculinity, Scott preempts this

interpretation. Contrasting Fergus's behavior with that of his sister, whose loyalty to her clan was a "pure passion" and who had only the desire "of vindicating from poverty, or at least from want and foreign oppression, those whom her brother was entitled to govern," Scott writes that Fergus

was too thorough a politician, regarded his patriarchal influence too much as the means of accomplishing his own aggrandizement, that we should term him the model of a Highland Chieftain. (170)

Through his actions, Fergus reveals the profound contradictions of a character composed of the warring masculinities of, in Talbot's words, a "Frenchified" Scotsman. This character comes under increasing scrutiny in the novel as it comes to embody a particular mode of French masculinity that Scott elsewhere explicitly associates with the failings of French culture.

In the *Life of Napoleon*, Scott would more systematically and explicitly lay out his critique of French masculinity, particularly that of its aristocracy. In his account of French court life before the revolution, a time contemporaneous with the action of *Waverley*, Scott argues that the crisis of the ancien régime was at heart a crisis of masculinity, as the "wasting effects of luxury and vanity had totally ruined a great part of the French nobility" (*Life of Napoleon* 1:27). Summarizing the character of the Parisian "haute noblesse," most of whom "spent their lives at court, and in discharge of the great offices of the crown and state," Scott writes:

[I]nstead of acting as the natural chiefs and leaders of the nobility and gentry of the provinces, they were continually engaged in intriguing for charges round the king's person . . . for all and everything which could make the successful courtier. . . . Their education and habits also were totally unfavorable to grave or serious thought and exertion. . . . [A] constant pursuit of pleasure, and a perpetual succession of intrigues, either of love or petty politics, made their character . . . approach in insignificance to that of the women of the court, whom it was the business of their lives to captivate and amuse. (1:32–33)

Corrupted by court intrigue, by the "air of *salons, ruëlls, and boudoirs*," which is "fatal, in many cases, to the masculine spirit of philosophical self-denial," France's ruling male elite would cause their own downfall, bringing the nation down with it in the process (1:54). Here, France's cultural malaise is coded in gendered terms as a profound failing of masculinity on the part of the "natural" leaders of the nation.

Scott's engendering of national character and his assault on French aristocracy are part of a widespread critique of French masculinity in British culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This critique saw the rise of the figure of the "effeminate Frenchman," who was both the cause and the embodiment of the inferiority of France.¹⁶ Moreover, as Colley points out, this gendered critique of Frenchness also worked to define a British masculinity.

There was a sense at this time—as perhaps there still is—in which the British conceived of themselves as an essentially “masculine” culture—bluff, forthright, rational, down-to-earth to the extent of being philistine—caught up in an eternal rivalry with an essentially “effeminate” France—subtle, intellectually devious, preoccupied with high fashion, fine cuisine and etiquette, and so obsessed with sex that boudoir politics were bound to direct it. (252)

Nationalist expression like Scott's, framed as an attack on French effeminacy, served to consolidate a hawkish stance on the war both by emphasizing the alterity of the French and impugning the masculinity of those at home who were accused of supporting them.

Further, Scott's summary of the French ruling class in the *Life* also sums up nicely the French half of Fergus's character. Thus, Fergus's bravery in battle does not redeem him, as it does not redeem the court nobility of the ancien régime: “[I]n general the order, *in everything but military courage*, had assumed a trivial and effeminate character, from which the patriotic sacrifices or masculine wisdom, were scarcely to be expected” (*Life of Napoleon* 1:33; emphasis added). “Military courage” is the exception that proves the rule of French effeminacy, as Scott depicts the aristocratic corruption embodied in Fergus Mac-Ivor as symptomatic of both a failed masculinity and failed patriotism.

THE PROBLEMATICS OF LOYALTY

Though Fergus's masculinity comes under increasing scrutiny in the novel, his social status is never in doubt, and as a chieftain in the patriarchal society of the Highland clans, he is paid unswerving allegiance by his underlings, who depend on him for their safety, their livelihood, and their sense of identity. Yet in return for this allegiance, Fergus must continue to devote his efforts to the continued well-being of the clan. This dynamic of reciprocity is a key element in the Highland tradition of *duthchas*, or “kindness” that

Scott in *Waverley* seems to recognize. In this tradition, the chieftain was seen less as a feudal master or landlord and more a protector or land trustee, whose authority derived not only from kinship ties but from the continued demonstration of *his* loyalty to the clan.¹⁷ Through this dynamic of reciprocal loyalty that *duthchas* is supposed to engender, *Waverley* highlights both the exemplarity of Evan and the alien-ness of Fergus. We see an example of this dynamic early on when Evan remarks to Waverley that he had served his chieftain dutifully in the Black Watch company that Fergus had commanded. Waverley notes that this seems an instance of ideological betrayal, given that the Black Watch's government-sponsored mandate had been to put down Jacobite unrest in the Highlands. Surely, Waverley suggests, when Evan was "in King George's pay" he was "King George's soldie[r]." Evan defers: "Troth, and you must ask Vich Ian Vohr [Fergus] about that; for we are for his king, and care not much which of them it is" (150). In his response, Evan redefines the grounds upon which Waverley questions his loyalty, shifting from an abstract notion of allegiance to an ideological cause to one of personal devotion to his chieftain. The unmediated intensity of this devotion determines the circumstances of Evan's life and of his death and illustrates his admirable selflessness in opposition to the self-aggrandizement of his chieftain.

When Fergus and Evan are put on trial for their part in the failed Jacobite insurrection, both men go to the gallows unemotionally. While Fergus uses his chance to speak in the courtroom to proclaim the righteousness of the cause and his willingness to die gladly for it, Evan instead takes his opportunity to argue a Highland bargain with the judge:

[I]f your excellent honour, and the honourable court, would let Vich Ian Vohr go free just this once, and let him gae back to France, and no to trouble King George's government again, that ony six o' the very best of his clan will be willing to be justified in his stead; and if you'll just let me gae down to Glennaquoich, I'll fetch them up to ye mesell, to head or hang, and you may begin wi' me the very first man. (465)

The ease with which Evan expresses his willingness to sacrifice himself for his chieftain demonstrates his total adherence to the Highland code of loyalty—its disinterestedness and artlessness, its grounding in the personal bonds between individuals. It also makes him the ideal fighting man, as it places him beyond the realm of politics and political allegiances altogether, insulating him from the political and ethical ambiguities of Jacobitism that adhere to other characters in the novel. Though Evan follows Fergus to the gallows and pays the ultimate price assigned to those who foment civil unrest, Evan's inability to even understand, much less adopt, the ideology

that has brought him to trial for his very life effectively works to exonerate him. Scott makes this point overtly in the final pronouncements of the judge, who offers Evan leniency:

For you, poor ignorant man . . . who, following the ideas in which you have been educated, have this day given us a striking example how the loyalty due to the king and state alone, is, from your unhappy ideas of clanship, transferred to some ambitious individual, who ends by making you the tool of his crimes. (466)¹⁸

The redemption of the Highland warrior here suggests that Scott is not interested simply in straightforwardly linking the figure with a romantic, yet anachronistic Jacobitism. Instead, we can read the judge's pronouncement as part of a recurring theme in Scott's celebration of primitive warriors: the betrayal of their noble disinterestedness by a ruling elite corrupted or emasculated by polished society.¹⁹ Cleansing the Highland clansman of the taint of Jacobitism, *Waverley* opens a space for his role as British masculine exemplar, even as it seeks to code Jacobitism as a French-influenced movement, "a foreign invasion" in Ian Duncan's words (*Modern Romance* 78). The subtle shifts in masculine behavior and the links between such behavior and national/ethnic identity also highlights the ways in which a novel that narrates the final settlement of Great Britain "sixty years since" is informed by, and engages with, notions of masculinity associated with the nation's contemporary struggle against France.

In his offer of leniency to Evan, who of course instantly refuses it, the judge also voices the idea of "loyalty transference" that critics have suggested is a crucial component of the romanticization of the Highland soldier. Most recently, for example, Clyde sums up *Waverley*'s role in reinforcing the transformation in attitudes toward the Highland soldier in the war era:

Scott created a romantic vision of the Gaels as a race of fierce and fearless warriors whose only failing was a misplaced loyalty to a deserving albeit hopeless cause. It seemed to many that in the seventy years or so between the Battles of Culloden and Waterloo, the Gaels' talent for war had been at last redirected towards the British national interest. (177)

Yet representations such as Scott's, premised on the assumption that Highland loyalty was a product of clanship, also pose a key dilemma: If the Highlander's unswerving loyalty to his chieftain is a fundamental aspect of the social order of clanship, how can this loyalty be transferred to the similar yet separate social order of the British army? Scott seems to pose this funda-

mental question overtly in a scene in which Fergus, as he awaits execution in his cell in Carlisle Castle, declares to Waverley:

Would to God . . . I could bequeath to you my rights to the love and obedience of this primitive and brave race:—or at least, as I have striven to do, persuade poor Evan to accept of his life upon their terms, and be to you what he has been to me, the kindest—the bravest—the most devoted. (472)

Fergus's dream of redirected loyalty, addressed to Waverley, a sometime officer in the British army, seems just that, a dream: "But . . . that cannot be. You cannot be to them Vich Ian Vohr; and these three magic words . . . are the only *open sesame* to their feelings and sympathies" (472). Scott here seems to pose the possibility of loyalty transference only to foreclose it, but elsewhere in the novel he establishes the grounds for just such a transference. In the same prison meeting described above, Fergus muses on the ultimate fate of his clan, which will soon be leaderless, and makes a last request of Waverley:

You are rich . . . Waverley, and you are generous. When you hear of these poor Mac-Ivors being distressed about their miserable possessions by some harsh overseer or agent of government, remember you have worn their tartan, and are an adopted son of their race. The Baron, who knows our manners, and lives near our country, will apprise you of the time and means to be their protector. Will you promise this to the last Vich Ian Vohr? (472)

Waverley agrees, and Scott telescopes into the future for a moment to record that Edward indeed fulfills his promise to Fergus: "Edward . . . afterwards so amply redeemed [his word] . . . that his memory still lives in these glens by the name of the Friend of the Sons of Ivor" (472). Scott here seems to anticipate and condemn the military crackdown and economic turmoil that would come after the '45. Moreover, Waverley's pledge to Fergus and acceptance of the status of surrogate "friend of the clan" suggest that though Waverley's eventual leave-taking of the Highlands could be said to mark his rejection of "romance" and mature acceptance of a rationalist progressive ethos, his sojourn in the Highlands has effected a profound transformation of his relationship with the Highland world—from that of awestruck tourist to one fully engaged and implicated in that world.

Buzard has insightfully situated Waverley's transformation in the context of the novel's ethnographic stance. Characterizing Waverley as "the living embodiment of English power," Buzard suggests the novel enacts the "ethnographer's double journey":

The "culturing" of Waverley as a mature English landlord is inextricably bound up with the ethnographic romance of definitively apprehending "Scottish culture." Waverley's (and *Waverley's*) progress is not from romantic fancy to sober fact, but rather fragmented to unified visions, from ethnocentric first impressions to ethnographic total view. (40)

Taking the basic premise of Buzard's reading of the shift in Waverley's position vis-à-vis the Highlands, I want to push its implications and suggest that the "total view" that Waverley achieves by the end of the novel is premised not simply on his growing sympathy *with* the culture but on his partial immersion *within* the culture, as "an adopted son of their race." Waverley's gradual achievement of a variation of Highland fosterage can be traced in the moments when Waverley dons the Highland garb, which can be read as glimpses into his progressive acculturation into Highland ways rather than haphazard instances of his wavering allegiance to Jacobitism. In Waverley's initial sartorial transformation, during the stag hunt at Glennaquoich, he "complied so far with the custom of the country as to adopt the trews (he could not be reconciled to the kilt), brogues, and bonnet, as the fittest dress for the exercise in which he was to be engaged" (187). But by the time he joins the Highland Jacobite army as it marches to battle, Waverley dons the full "garb of Old Gaul" complete with kilt, which makes him, as Evan himself declares, "a pratty man—a very pratty man" (306). Waverley himself seems to agree, gazing into the mirror and acknowledging that "the reflection seemed that of a very handsome young fellow," which may emphasize his immature foppishness, but it also illustrates his acceptance of, and gradual immersion into, the Highland world. As Evan reveals at this point, not simply on the level of costume has Waverley opted to "go native": he has also familiarized himself with Highland weaponry and fighting techniques (306). By the end of the novel, Waverley not only becomes a Gaelic-speaking authority on the Highlands, he can "whistle a pibroch, dance a strathspey, and sing a Highland song," which he proceeds to demonstrate for a young man he encounters on his travels who is no less fascinated by (or ignorant of) Highland culture than Waverley was when he first rode into the Highlands.

These moments of gradual acculturation into the Highland world suggest that something more than the acquisition of the ethnographer's "total view" is at work in Waverley's transformation. Instead, Waverley's sympathy for the Highland people and the *reciprocal* identification between him and them becomes a key underpinning for the enactment of "loyalty transference" in the novel—for the clan's acceptance of Waverley as friend to, or actual member of, the clan not only makes him their surrogate leader, it makes him their commander in wartime. Further, Scott suggests that acculturation not only

grants Waverley the authority to command the clan but makes him a particularly effective leader, as the clan's own testimony would seem to affirm. When Waverley shows concern for a wounded English soldier, the son of one of his uncle's tenants, Scott writes:

Waverley rather gained than lost in the opinion of the Highlanders. . . . They would not have understood the general philanthropy which rendered it almost impossible for Waverley to have passed any person in such distress; but, as apprehending that the sufferer was one of his *following*, they unanimously allowed that Waverley's conduct was that of a kind and considerate chieftain, who merited the attachment of his people. (329; emphasis in original)

This passage marks a crucial moment in Waverley's acculturation into the clan: Through the principles of *duthchas*, Waverley begins to receive the clan's allegiance not because of his lineage or kinship ties, but because he seems to understand and adopt traditional Highland social codes. Evan himself acknowledges Waverley's chieftainlike position among the clan when a member of a neighboring clan remarks that the shout and bagpipe flourish that Evan's men give to Waverley upon his arrival was "as if the Chieftain were just come to your head." "*Mar e Bran is e brathair*, If it is not Bran, it is Bran's brother," was the proverbial reply of Maccombich" (326).

The clan's acceptance of Waverley and his sympathy with its fate in both war and peace suggest that we read him not as the embodiment of Englishness, but as an alternative mode of English masculinity, contrasted, for example—in a novel of so many contrasting modes of masculinity—with that epitomized by Colonel Talbot. If Talbot's masculinity is marked by a particular code of honor "devoted to the service of his king and country, without feeling any pride in knowing the theory of his art," which reveals him to be "in every point the English soldier," his character is also "strongly tinged . . . with those prejudices which are peculiarly English" (365–66). These prejudices manifest themselves in Talbot's utter excoriation of Highlanders. When Waverley insists that Talbot judges the Highlanders "too harshly," Talbot replies:

Not a whit, not a whit; I cannot spare them a jot—I cannot bate them an ace. Let them stay in their own barren mountains, and puff and swell, and hang their bonnets on the horns of the moon, if they have a mind: but what business have they to come where people wear breeches, and speak an intelligible language? I mean intelligible in comparison with their gibberish, for

even the Lowlanders talk a kind of English little better than the negroes in Jamaica. (387)

Waverley maps out subtle differences in masculinity between characters of the same ethnic backgrounds—contrasting Talbot's singularly ethnocentric inability (or refusal) to engage, much less sympathize, with Highlander culture and Waverley's willingness to immerse himself in Highland ways. The novel also suggests that the loyalty transference that is necessary to effect the Highland soldier-hero is impossible without some concomitant transformation in the character of his non-Highland commander, who must understand and sympathize with the Highlander's cultural peculiarities. Scott, therefore, condemns not only Frenchness and Jacobitism through the rejection of a masculinity that links them, but also the kind of chauvinist Englishness that Talbot embodies, which cannot accommodate the new realities of *multiple* British masculinities brought in proximity in the context of warfare. If the novel constructs a "primitive" Highland warrior, it also promulgates a peculiar mode of normative military masculinity for his commanding officer, a masculinity marked by cultural tolerance and sympathy and the "ethnographic" acquisition of Highland "local knowledge." As the novel narrates relations between these two modes of masculinity, it provides a space for a new *relational* understanding of military masculinity in the context of the new imperial conditions of British military service, as two exemplary yet distinct types of British fighting men wage war against their common enemy.

HIGHLAND "ROMANCE" AS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

The topographically determined cultural peculiarities that made the Highland man an ideal warrior, as well as the new, sympathetic cultural knowledge that highlandism demands in a modern military context, is taken up in exhaustive detail by David Stewart of Garth in his *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*. Indeed, as one of the most oft-cited sources on its subject in the nineteenth century, the *Sketches* represents a key text in the history of Highland representation.²⁰ As Stewart's biographer suggests, nothing like the *Sketches*, which was neither a travelogue nor a work of fiction but a full-fledged "sociological" account, "had ever been placed before the public" (Robertson, *First Highlander* 125). Yet relatively scant critical attention has been paid to the *Sketches*; recent studies of the Highlands, if they remark on the *Sketches* at all, give it only cursory

notice. Womack, for example, places Stewart on his short list of purveyors of Highland “sentimentality” in the nineteenth century, along with “Osgood Mackenzie and even Queen Victoria,” who “express a powerful if precious delight in the place” (177). Devine also places Stewart on the list of writers—Anne Grant, Patrick Graham, and, “above all,” Sir Walter Scott—who widely disseminated the “association between Jacobitism and the Highlands” making the former “romantic and seductive” (*Clanship* 91). By looking more closely at the *Sketches* and paying particular attention to its “sociological” stance, however, one can read the work as a unique achievement in the history of highlandism that manages to provide a broader systemization of the ethnographic imagination of *Waverley*, which Stewart admiringly references, while at the same time problematizing the very grounds upon which “ethnography” as a discursive field came to be defined.

In addition to describing the ideal qualities of the Highland warrior, which are the product of the hard environment and patriarchal society in which he is nurtured, Stewart’s work provides a complete history of all the Highland regiments. This history occupies more than half of the two-volume work and provided its initial impetus. In 1816 Stewart was asked to write a history of the Black Watch regiment, and this initial plan ballooned into a work that not only provides a full account of all the Highland regiments that existed up to that time, but also includes a two-part general analysis that catalogs in detail Highland traditions and cultural practices in addition to—as Stewart frequently apologizes in the text—an exhaustive collection of footnoted anecdotes to illustrate the general catalog of Highland ways. The shifting evolution of the work highlights the generic tensions of the final product, which sets out both to “sketch” an overview of an entire culture and to narrate a particular military history. Yet the constituent parts of the work are mutually constitutive: As Stewart asserts repeatedly, the accounts of heroism and exemplary conduct that constitute the individual histories of each Highland regiment cannot be understood outside the context of the distinctive culture in which the Highlander is reared.²¹ In turn, historical accounts of Highland military exploit—encompassing a wide variety of combat arenas and spanning, in the case of the Black Watch, over sixty years—serve to illustrate the general propensities of the Highland male.

The tensions embedded in the work are evident early on, as it works to establish itself within an emerging field of anthropology/ethnography. In its first section, Stewart sets out familiar points of highlandism but situates these points within a formal ethnographic framework of key social categories:

From these circumstances [limited agriculture, infrequent intercourse with the Lowlands, and limited population due to mountainousness of the region], as well as from the sequestered situation in which the inhabitants were placed, a peculiar character and distinctive manners naturally originated. . . . [T]heir exercises, their amusements, their modes of subsistence, their motives of action, their prejudices, and their superstitions, became characteristic, permanent, and peculiar.²²

Stewart's work, then, will attempt to provide nothing less than a systematic account of Highland "modes of life." In other words, the work assumes the ethnographer's "whole sight," and, in this, the *Sketches* partakes of fundamental stance of ethnographic work later in the century. As Christopher Herbert describes:

[W]hat gives [the assumption that a people is to be defined by its beliefs, morals, customs, and so forth] ethnographic significance . . . is the presumption that this array of disparate-seeming elements of social life composes a significant whole, each factor of which is in some sense a corollary of, substantial with, implied by, immanent in, all the others. (4-5)

Stewart seems also aware that claims to take the full measure of a culture must be founded on a wide variety of reliable source materials, and he seems to betray an anxiety to establish the authority of those sources. The *Sketches* is brimming over with examples gleaned from other written and informant sources, placed in the text proper and appendices, and in footnotes so frequent and lengthy they could be said to constitute a parallel text.

But at the same time, Stewart is careful to establish his *own* credentials as an authority on the Highlands. In presuming to contradict the opinions of those "men conspicuous for talents and acquirements" who have spoken on the Highlands before him, Stewart clears a space for his own higher authority by giving evidence of his own knowledge of his subject. This knowledge originates, he writes,

principally from the circumstances of my being a native of the country and having from early infancy associated much with the people. Speaking their language and keeping an attentive ear and observant eye to what was said or done in my presence, I have been able to acquire a considerable knowledge of their habits, dispositions, and traditional histories. [I am] descended by both parents from families in which all I have said of patriarchal kindness

and devoted attachment had for ages been exemplified . . . and still farther, [I have] had occasion, in the course of my professional duties, to come into daily contact with the same people.²³

It is in Stewart's attempt to establish himself as authority on his subject where the tensions and contradictions begin to surface. Stewart positions himself as his own informant—as one born and raised in the Highlands, speaking the language, and fully conversant with Highland tradition who nevertheless also can report objectively and authoritatively on his subject in the metropolitan epistemological framework that is demanded of such a work. The contradictions of such a position are revealed in the shifting subjectivity of the narrator, as he alternately labels himself a “native,” while making reference to “their” language and “their” habits. As both native informant and outside observer, Stewart undermines the distance between the normative vision of the ethnographer and his subject culture that is crucial to ethnographic discourse and that reinforces difference. The author of the *Sketches* is always part of, and fully implicated in, the society he wishes to observe and report on. This fundamental contradiction in Stewart's work is also revealed in the way in which he is intent on systematically cataloging not only Highland cultural practices but also the profound *transformation* in the Highlands of his own time.

Indeed, the second section of the *Sketches* proper is devoted to delineating the “present state, and changes of character, manners, and [even] personal appearances” of the inhabitants of the Highlands. In this section, Stewart launches an insistent and passionate critique of new land management practices in the Highlands, which, he argues, threaten to destroy the very fabric of the Highland way of life. Furthermore, the critique of land policy and later analysis of Highland military character are inextricably interwoven, as Stewart ties Highland military propensity to the continued maintenance of traditional ways:

Military character depends both on moral and on physical causes, arising from the various circumstances and situations in which men are placed. Every change in these circumstances tends either to improve or deteriorate that character and hence we find, that nations that were once distinguished as the bravest in Europe, have sunk into weakness and insignificance, while others have been advancing to power and pre-eminence. The importance of preserving this character is evident. Unless a people be brave, high-spirited, and independent in mind and in principles, they must, in time, yield to their more powerful neighbours. (1:217–18)

Thus extolling the natural benefits of highlandism and calling for an end to socioeconomic experimentation in the Highlands are inextricably interwoven. The logic of highlandism insists that the peculiarities of Highland society that produced the Highland fighting man cannot be sustained in the current climate of social and economic upheaval. This, in turn, has direct implications for the health of the nation. At the same time, Stewart's history of the military exploits of Highland regiments forms the basis of his plea on patriotic grounds for just treatment in the Highlands. Recounting the bloody sacrifices of Highland soldiers throughout history, Stewart makes appeals on behalf of the Highland people by reminding his readers of Highland contributions to the nation.

The process by which new land management practices work to undermine British military might is twofold for Stewart. The most immediate process is immigration, which Stewart characterizes as a "White Slave Trade":

Such drains on the populations by extensive and compulsory migrations . . . have removed from this country as many valuable members of society as were killed by the enemy in the whole of the Peninsular campaigns,—and this in a much shorter period than the duration of those apparently destructive and deadly operations. (2:57)

But more crucial for Stewart is the effect of new land practices on the emotional well-being of soldiers and their families back home in the Highlands. The *Sketches* details the trauma of clearance displacement and dispossession, which, Stewart writes, has produced a widespread "demoralization" within the Highlands. Having lost the "natural" protection of the landowner, Stewart writes, the people have

in too many instances, sought consolation in the doctrines of ignorant and fanatical spiritual guides, infected with the rage of proselytizing, and capable of producing no solid or beneficial impression on the ardent minds of those to whom their exhortations and harangues are generally addressed. (1:125)

In addition, the "natural enthusiasm of the Highland character has, in many instances, been converted into gloomy and morose fanaticism. Traditional history and native poetry, which reminded them of other times are neglected" (1:125). In the same manner, Stewart writes, Highland social gatherings have denigrated into outlets for venting anger and frustration:

[T]heir taste for music, dancing, and all kinds of social amusement, has been chilled. Their evening meetings are now seldom held, and when they do occur, instead of being enlivened with the tale, the poem, or the song, they are too frequently exasperated with political or religious discussions, or with complaints against their superiors, and the established clergy. (1:126)

Stewart's answer to this demoralization is to call for a kind of renewed "moral economy" in the Highlands in which landlord-tenant relations are based not on "cold-hearted calculation" but on a benign paternalism:

What they [Highland natives] have formerly been, will they not still continue to be, if they were only made to experience the same kindness as their forefathers? The cordial and condescending kindness of the higher orders, as I have already oftener than once said, contributed materially to produce the character which the people seem anxious to perpetuate. (1:206)

Stewart places the blame for social problems in the Highlands squarely on the shoulders of landowners who have "unhinged the social virtues, and the mutual confidence between them and their formerly attached dependents" (1:207). This attachment is bound not by a contract, by lease, but by obligations of "honour, or mutual interest, and reciprocal advantage" (1:207). In sum, Stewart calls for nothing less than a return to the principles of *duthchas* in the Highlands.

This call for what amounts to a kind of individualized social paternalism as a cure-all for the economic and social ills in the Highlands might be expected from one who was himself a Highland landowner and who would be forced to sell off much of his family estate to pay off creditors in the difficult post-Waterloo economy. Moreover, Stewart does not reject the basic underlying principles of agricultural improvement but instead condemns the destructive "revolutionary" pace at which such principles were implemented in the Highlands. Contrasting the pace of change in the Highlands with that in the Lowlands, Stewart links the sudden acceleration of socioeconomic change with the "spirit of enterprise which burst forth after the Seven Years War [1763]":

In the Lowlands . . . the people were allowed time to overcome old habits, and to acquire a gradual knowledge of the new improvements. But many Highland landlords . . . seeing the advantages of these improvements, and the consequent increase of rents, commenced operations in the north with a precipitation which has proved ruinous to their ancient tenants, and not always productive of advantage to themselves. (1:139)

Stewart's acute analysis of the unique pace of transformations in Highland economy anticipates more recent accounts, and, despite the land-owner ideology that can be said to inform the work, the *Sketches* would influence a generation of Highland land reform advocates, from Donald Macleod to Alexander Mackenzie.²⁴ In Stewart's plea for measures to end emigration, short leases, and secret biddings in auction, and in his demand that preference be given to "natives" in the sale of land and that limits be set on total acreage that any individual can control, his work amounts to an unprecedented call for a systematic and intrusive reform of land policy in the Highlands. Indeed, because of this aspect of the work, and because Stewart condemns the management policies of the Sutherland estate and its factor, Peter Sellar, by name, the *Sketches* was labeled a "radical" treatise, so potentially incendiary that Stewart's friend Sir John Macgregor Murray (a founding member of the Highland Society of Scotland whose son was married to the Duke of Atholl's daughter) advised Stewart not to publish it (Robertson 90). By placing the Highlands firmly within the realm of historical process, historical change, Stewart's work instead undermines the "denial of co-evalness" that Johannes Fabian has argued is fundamental aspect of European anthropology in the nineteenth century and after.²⁵

Stewart's careful documentation and bitter critique of the processes of historical change in the Highlands represent a crucial difference between his work and *Waverley*, which makes scant mention of the economic upheavals in the Highlands after 1745. In his review of the Culloden Papers, Scott provides some commentary on the contemporary state of the Highlands, alluding to the processes of depopulation and emigration, and he echoes Stewart's suggestion that the ultimate price of a transformation will be paid in losses to the Highland military rolls. Famously ending the piece on an elegiac note, Scott writes:

[I]f the hour of need should come—and it may not, perhaps be far distant—the pibroch may sound through the deserted region, but the summons will remain unanswered. The children who have left her will re-echo from a distant shore the sounds which they took leave of their own—*Ha til, ha til, ha til, mi tuidh!*—"We return—we return—we return—no more!" (333)

But there is no such final note of inevitability in the *Sketches* as Stewart continues to demonstrate (as does Scott, implicitly at least, in *Waverley*) that the vestiges of Highland masculine character continue to find a home in the military and that national self-interestedness ought to grant the Highlander a "reprieve."

The complex contradictions of the *Sketches*'s "ethnographic" stance—the liminal subject positioning of its author, its marked insistence on a Highland historicity, and its insistent social critique—suggest the work must be read not as an ethnography but as an autoethnography. Distinguishing between the two terms, Pratt writes: "If ethnographic texts are means by which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others, autoethnographic texts are those the others construct in response to or dialogue with those metropolitan representations" (7). This reading of the *Sketches* of course complicates the notion that it is an example of the romanticization of the Highlands that works to elide the "realities" of the Highland Clearances. Instead the *Sketches* both resists and collaborates with metropolitan orderings of the Highlands. A wholesale "translation" of its subject into English, the *Sketches* is marked nevertheless by, again in Pratt's words, a "transcultural dialogism" that on metropolitan terms attempts to make its reader sympathetic to a Highland way of life.

SCOTLAND'S (BRITISH) WARRIOR FOR EMPIRE

Stewart's argument against land policy is often utilitarian—preserving the character of the Highland male preserves his effectiveness as a fighter—but, as I have suggested, the exemplarity of the Highlander, his ability not only to serve British state interests but to embody particular masculine attributes in nationalist discourse, is at the center of his popularity. Stewart himself seems to recognize the particular symbolic role that the figure of the Highland soldier plays in nurturing and consolidating national feeling. Indeed, Stewart argues that without the existence of the Highland soldier in his Highland uniform, there would be no ability to signify a uniquely "Scottish" military essence at all. Citing examples for the Napoleonic Wars, Stewart summarizes this phenomenon:

In short, if there were no Scotch regiments, and no highland uniform, we should hear no more of the military character than we do of the naval exploits of Scotland. There might be, as there have always been, many individual instances of distinguished merit, but there would be no national character. (2: app. lxxxix)²⁶

The figure of the Highland soldier in his distinctive uniform works to effect a covalent Scottish/British patriotism that recognizes the possibility of dual national allegiance in the context of imperial warfare. Stewart's insistence on a national identity in difference sometimes makes for strained historical

analogy—for example, when he, after declaring Bannockburn the battle that “may be said to have fixed the independence of Scotland as a nation,” goes on to compare that battle with Waterloo:

As the [latter] sealed the destiny of Buonaparte, so Bannockburn destroyed the hopes of a proud invader, and established the independence of Scotland on a foundation which kept it firm, till the Union with a more powerful kingdom rendered the independence of the one inseparable from the other. (2:343)

The slippery logic of this comparison allows Stewart to trace a continuous line in Scottish military history and to read both battles as special dramatic moments of trial, in which the nation's integrity was preserved and its greatness reaffirmed, all through manly exploit. Thus, Stewart's British patriotism does not efface a Scottish patriotism. Rather, in Simon Gikandi's words, “to be Scottish . . . was to belong to a larger more compelling and authoritative narrative, one made possible by the imperial mission” (33).

Stewart cites a particular instance of the Highland figure's ability to inspire Scottish national feeling while evoking Britain's great contemporary nemesis when he recounts the reaction of “an old friend” and native of the Highlands who agreed to accompany Stewart to a royal review of the Gordon Fencibles in Hyde Park in 1794. This friend, Stewart writes,

[at] the commencement of the French Revolution, [had] imbibed many of the new opinions, became an imaginary citizen of the world, and would not allow that he had a country. . . . However . . . when he saw the regiment, the plaids, and the bonnets, and heard the sound of the bagpipes, the memory of former days returned with such force, that his heart swelled, his eyes filled with tears, and . . . he exclaimed, “I have a country, after all: the sight of these poor fellows has given me a truer lesson than all my boasted philosophy. (2: app., fn.xc)²⁷

Stewart here describes the profound power of a figure that powerfully evokes a set of associations that signify “Scottishness” and simply overwhelms an expatriate cosmopolitanism. Moreover, that this cosmopolitanism is distinctly coded as “French” in this passage recalls Scott's attack on French effeminacy in *Waverley* and elsewhere.

For Stewart, the response to French effeminacy is, as for Scott, Highland manliness, with its rugged hardiness, natural skill in military action, and devotion to his commanding officer and to his nation. But beyond this, Stewart's avocation of the reciprocal principles of *duthchas* in the second half of the first section of the *Sketches* finds its exact parallel in the regimental

histories. In these, Stewart makes clear that if the preservation of Highland military character is contingent on renewed awareness of, and paternalistic sympathy for, Highland ways on the part of the landowning class, the actualization of this character within the army itself is contingent on the selfsame attitude on the part of commanding officers. As Stewart stresses in his introduction to the regimental histories,

A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of the Highlanders is entrusted must endeavor to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct. He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, preserve a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected. (1:220)

This passage points to a key difference in Stewart's construction of Highland and non-Highland military masculinity, which highlights the essentializing turn of the work as a whole: In contrast to its *descriptive* summary of the Highland fighting man, its summary of the Highland officer is *proscriptive*—an officer *must endeavor* to acquire the regiment's confidence, and so on. Nevertheless, Stewart's insistence on a reciprocal relationship between Highland soldier and non-Highland officer is a key feature of his work, for if the historical account serves to provide illustrations of highlandism in action, it also provides examples of the special qualities demanded of officers to "bring out" highlandism within the special confines of the army. Typical of these examples is Stewart's description of the commanding officer of the 101st (Johnstone's Highlanders) Regiment:

Although Major Johnstone was not himself a Highlander, he had every qualification for the command of a Highland regiment. An excellent judgment enabled him to perceive the advantages of availing himself of the peculiar habits of the men, and of commanding them rather by influencing their minds, than by fear of corporal punishments. He entered on his functions with the spirit of a knight of former times, and while he made himself agreeable to his men by wearing their favourite garb, and by humouring and indulging them in the exercise of their characteristic habits and customs, so far as they did not interfere with their duty, he secured their attachment, while he possessed their respect, by the spirit and energy he displayed. (2:86)

Securing the "attachment" of the men is a crucial task for an officer of a Highland regiment, and in this and other examples Stewart suggests that the achievement of "loyalty transference," to which Scott only alludes in *Waverley*, is wholly a function of sympathetic knowledge and tolerance of Highland "peculiarities."²⁸

Just how varied and widespread the demands on Britain's imperial warriors proved to be is demonstrated in the casualty lists of the Highland regiments, which Stewart provides in his appendix. These not only give the numbers killed and wounded, they also provide a complete catalog of the unprecedented movements of an army that was called upon to mobilize by land and sea to over five different continents in the space of some sixty years. Stewart's history of the Black Watch, the oldest of the Highland regiments, alone catalogs engagements from Hulst and Beveland in the Low Countries to Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies; from the wilderness of the North American interior to the urban outskirts of New York City and Brooklyn; from Maida in Egypt, Fuentes de Honor in Portugal to Toulouse and Quatre Bas in France. (Stewart describes his own contradictory impulses when he, as an officer of the Black Watch, is called upon to quell rioting in Ross-Shire in 1792, *Bliadhna nan Caorach* "the Year of the Sheep.") Not simply providing what amounts to a litany of the countless assaults, stormings, counterattacks, and charges of actual combat, the *Sketches* also recounts the garrisoning, bivouacking, occupying, and patrolling that is required in the ceaseless job of enforcing and maintaining British imperial will in an ever-expanding theater of operation. The lives of Highland military men—so insistently bound to their homeland that the very terrain is said to define them—is framed in Stewart's work wholly in terms of service to their country. Perhaps ironically, however, in an imperial age their lives are also marked, just as insistently, not only by the deprivations of combat in varied climes but by an unceasing global nomadism.

Such a condition brings into relief the anomalous condition of the *Sketches* as an autoethnography. If such a text is always the product of the "contact zone," the term Pratt uses to "invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect" (7), then what could be said to constitute the specific contact zone in which the *Sketches* is produced? Though it appears that Stewart composed the bulk of the manuscript during a three-year stay in London, the work encompasses, as Stewart himself writes, a lifetime's gathering of material from military sources and experiences. The cultural space in which the *Sketches* arises is no less marked by the coming together of subjects once separated by geography and history,

yet at the same time this space is revealed to be a complexly multilayered and dynamic “translocality,”²⁹ as British fighting men like Stewart—Highland and non-Highland both—are brought together and shuttled across the globe, encountering a wide variety of “Others,” both within and beyond the army, in a wide variety of climates and circumstances.

And what is the nature of the sacrifice the nation may ask of the Highlander? The Highland soldier must be willing to meet death not simply in the context of battle, but in ways that he could hardly imagine back home. Toward the end of the *Sketches*, Stewart gives an example of Highland loyalty by citing Anne Grant’s dramatic account of the fate of one hundred members of the 73rd (Macleod’s Highlanders) Regiment during the siege of Mysore in 1780, who, after refusing to “take the turban,” to join the enemy and convert to Islam, were imprisoned and slowly starved to death by the Muslim leader Haider Ali:

It was not theirs to meet death in the field of honour. . . . This well known, though neglected, instance of what may be expected from being accustomed from the cradle to self-command, and self-denial, affords an additional proof of the importance of preserving, unmixed and undebased, a race so fit to encounter those perils and labours, worse than death, which the defence of our wide extended empire requires.” (Grant, *Essays*; cited in Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* 2: 151)

Britain’s primitive warrior, more than any other man, epitomizes the kind of military masculinity that *imperial* will requires. It is a desire that would only accelerate after Napoleon’s defeat in 1814, in a time of unfettered British colonial expansion in which the Highland warrior would continue to be celebrated, but in much different contexts and conflicts. In the colonial setting, to which my study will now turn, the exploits of the Highlander were set against those of the rebellious native, with curious results.



CHAPTER FOUR

“Petticoated Devils”

Highland Soldiers, Martial Races, and the Indian Mutiny

The Victorian age saw the end of Scottish dominance in the administration of British India. The 1853 advent of competitive examinations for East India Company positions rang the death knell for the patronage system by which Scots had entered into imperial service. As Michael Fry notes, “[A]t a stroke, [the new system] ended the prospects which generations of Scots landed and professional families had enjoyed, because they relied on patronage to get the plum jobs.” Of the twenty East India Company positions offered in 1853, Fry writes, “only one went to a Scot” (207). Yet if the Scottish role in the administration of Britain’s expanding empire in India increasingly diminished, the role of the Highland soldier in the symbolic foundation of British rule in India only intensified, particularly after the event that prompted the final dissolution of the East India Company, the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

The Indian Mutiny signaled a shift in the way Britons thought about themselves as colonizers and about the native people they controlled.¹ As news of the rebellion began to filter back to Britain, largely through journalist accounts, the dominant mode of colonial discourse shifted from picturesque description of native ways and landscape to one of military exploit, and the war narrative became the predominant mode of articulating the superiority of the nation and making sense of the violent challenge to colonial rule in India. Narratives of Britain’s military struggle to quell native resistance and to restore colonial order functioned as the collective story of the nation, its endurance and fortitude tested by its enemies.² In the heroic myth of the Indian Mutiny, the core values of the nation—Christian fortitude, selfless regard for duty, and cool competency in the face of danger—were embodied in the character and actions of the British fighting man. Although recent

historiography on the rebellion has suggested that it was a complex cluster of spontaneous and organized resistance on many levels of Indian society, British accounts saw the struggle exclusively in military terms.³ The rebellion was simply a local mutiny that had caught fire and spread throughout the countryside, the act of disgruntled Bengali soldiers, sepoys, taking up arms against their British commanders.⁴ The term “mutiny” itself, of course, suggests the uprising was purely a military problem of insubordination, which required a military response.

The agent of this response in accounts of the mutiny was the figure of the British soldier, who represented a set of idealized masculine qualities that in turn symbolized the character of the nation as a whole. By the mid-nineteenth century, as we have seen in the previous chapters, the image of the British fighting man was that of the soldier-hero whose myths, Dawson argues, provided a focus around which “the national community could cohere” (1). This special category of masculinity was particularly instrumental in nationalist discourse in the wake of the rebellion, and, in turn, this discourse served to validate and reinforce masculine categories that served nationalist aims. Thus, as Dawson argues, “A dominant conception of masculine identity—the true ‘Englishman’—was both required and underpinned by the dominant version of British national identity in such a way that each reinforced the other” (2). Dawson’s notion of British soldier-heroes provides an invaluable understanding of the ways in which assumptions of masculinity and nation were mutually constituted in the mid-nineteenth century. However, the complexities of nationalist discourse—and the ways in which notions of race intersect with notions of gender in that discourse—become more clear when one considers that more often than not, the “true Englishman” in Indian Mutiny accounts was a Scottish Highlander.

The figure of the Highland soldier, popularized in the works of Walter Scott and David Stewart early in the century, was celebrated for his exploits in the Napoleonic and Crimean wars and would continue to be celebrated after the Indian Mutiny. Images of the Highlander in battle functioned as a metonymic sign of British fighting prowess, as no British regimental uniform more often provided the stunning visual spectacle of Britain at war than the Highland uniform. Moreover, the Highlander, characterized as naturally hardy and intrepid in battle, also was thought to inspire a special terror among his enemies because of his ferocity and fearlessness. Also, in accounts where “treacherosness” becomes a reigning trope of Indian masculinity after the rebellion, the Highlander, in contrast, is deemed incapable of duplicity or subterfuge, utterly loyal to his superior officer. Highlanders, it was assumed, would die before betraying the honor of their regiment or

their nation. Accounts of the rebellion therefore often foreground the Highland figure as they seek to reenunciate the structure of opposition upon which British colonialism in India depended.

Recent colonial critics have investigated the ways in which the mutiny prompted a new understanding of *Indian* masculinity, in the figure of the bloodthirsty sepoy. If the British soldier-hero embodies the superior qualities of the British nation, the native resister embodies, for the most part, opposing qualities of the East. In the extreme oppositionality of war narratives, the sepoy mutineer is uniformly fanatic, barbarous, cowardly, duplicitous, militarily inept, and treacherously disloyal—personified in the figure of Mungal Pandey, the supposed instigator of the mutiny, “a six-foot Sepoy in open revolt, loaded musket in hand—himself loaded more dangerously by fanaticism strongly flavoured with bhang” (Fitchett 213). Mungal Pandey would become, in the shorthand of wartime, a metonym for all sepoy mutineers. As Jenny Sharpe has argued, the rebellion “disfigured” the civilizing mission in India by disrupting the construction of native male as both docile and malleable, as the dominant image of the effeminate “babu” gave way to the savage sepoy mutineer (58–82, *passim*).

Yet if one can point to shifts in the dominant construction of colonial masculinity after the rebellion, recent historians of the conflict recognize the complexity of these shifts, which worked from multiple sites of cultural production to meet the changing political imperatives of colonial rule. Heather Streets and Mrinalini Sinha emphasize the role that the colonial site of production played in the construction of both British and indigenous masculinity in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁵ Moving beyond the “national” frame of reference in her examination of colonial masculinity, Sinha argues that “late nineteenth-century notions of English/British masculinity or Bengali/Indian effeminacy cannot be understood simply from the framework of discrete ‘national’ cultures; instead they must be understood in relation to one another, and as constitutive of each other” (7).

Streets demonstrates the complexity of the interrelationship between constructions of British and Indian masculinity and the importance of the colonies as a site of their production in her examination of the formation of martial race ideology, which emanated largely from the writing of Anglo-Indian military men stationed in India, many of whom fought during the rebellion. If the rebellion prompted a general shift in British attitude toward the Indian male from docility to barbarity, especially as he was depicted in popular press accounts back home, it also prompted a more complex understanding of the native fighting man, especially on the part of those who experienced the rebellion firsthand. The manpower demands of the vastly

expanded post-rebellion British Indian army necessitated a large influx of native soldiers into its ranks.⁶ However, the anxiety of future mutiny would prompt a shift in British imperial attitudes, and “loyalty” would become the primary criterion by which British military authorities would identify and recruit natives into the army. Sikh and Gurkha regiments all fought against Bengali mutineers, often alongside British regiments. These native groups collectively would become the primary subject of martial race ideology, a new construction of native masculinity born in the aftermath of the rebellion.

In the post-mutiny development of martial race theory, it is possible to see the selfsame anthropological assumptions as to the natural proclivity of a “mountain people” toward war and soldiering that had shaped the discourse of highlandism a generation before and had continued to underpin the use of the popularity of the Highland soldier-hero well into the nineteenth century. For example, Archibald K. Murray begins his 1862 history of the Highland regiments with a brief sketch of the Highlands themselves. Mapping the innate character of the Highlander onto the topography of the Highlands, he writes:

Naturally patient and brave, and inured to hardship, in their youth in the hilly districts of a northern climate, these warlike mountaineers have always proved themselves a race of lion-like champions, valiant in the field, faithful, constant, generous in the hour of victory, and imbued with calm perseverance under trial and disaster. (251)

Though British soldiers in general were roundly praised for their skill and prowess in battle, only the Highland soldier was thought to be a natural-born warrior, the artless embodiment of British fighting skill. Martial race theory mimics the set of anthropological assumptions of highlandism, fomented on the Scottish periphery in the early nineteenth century, but serves much different purposes in a different cultural context as it is “transported” to the colonial site. In the same vein, the highlandism that informs the idealization of the Scottish Highland soldier-hero, as it moves to a colonial setting, is transformed—disfigured, in Sharpe’s useful understanding—as an essentialized category of race that works to affirm the innate superior qualities of British colonizers, even as it, in the form of martial race theory, allows for fine differentiation between native “Others.”

The complex flow of colonial discourse, as it migrates from India back to Britain, allows us to see the importance of the colonial site itself in shaping imperial assumptions. The Scottish antecedents of martial race theory, however, remind us that imperial consciousness is shaped on multiple sites that fall within the range of empire, not simply on the “core” or the colony.



In this chapter I wish to trace the complex and overlapping notions of gender and race in the continuing popularity of the figure of the Highlander in the Victorian age, as the figure becomes an element in the evolution of colonial discourse after the Indian Mutiny. Examining several accounts of British military exploits during the mutiny, I first wish to look at the image of the Highland soldier in battle and how the figure's appeal was prompted by its ability to provide a powerful spectacle of British prowess in action, while simultaneously registering as exotic. My examination then turns to narratives of the events at Cawnpore, where British women reportedly were tortured, raped, and dismembered, their bodies thrown into the residency well by mutineers. These atrocities incited a general uproar in Britain and prompted a brutal campaign of reprisal by British forces in India. Because native outrages against British women are said to activate the innate "fury" of the Highlander, he represents a particularly effective masculine avenger in support of British womanhood. Moreover, the depictions of the violent reaction of Highland soldiers as they come upon the site of massacre at Cawnpore works to resolve the contradictions in colonial logic engendered in acts of "savagery" on the part of British soldiers.

I also wish to examine the development of the ideology of martial races and the ways in which highlandism continues to inform (and complicate) the picture of British and native masculinity. The weight of shared assumptions between martial race theory and highlandism—and frequent articulation on the part of military writers, of affinity and analogy between Scottish Highlanders and martial races—brings me to my last section, in which I examine the question of exemplarity and the Highland figure's ultimate failure to stand as a successful exemplar of masculinity in military accounts. This is most apparent particularly in writings of the late Victorian era, when the exploits of British soldiers during the Indian Mutiny became a popular subject for juvenile literature. Given that these stories often served to provide idealized models of masculinity for their young readers to emulate, I wish to examine the problems and contradictions inherent in a figure whose special prowess is predicated on essentialized ethnic qualities that therefore cannot be emulated.

EXPOSING MASCULINITY: THE HIGHLAND KILT

In her study of British military art, J. W. M. Hichberger points out that "[d]espite the numerical minority of Scottish regiments in the late Victorian

army, the Scottish soldier received more pictorial coverage than any other. The Highland regiments, with their kilt and plaid uniforms, dominate” (106). Wearing his kilt and playing his bagpipe even in the heat of battle, the Scottish Highland soldier—represented as a collective or as an individual—provided both spectacle and romance to visual and textual depictions of British military exploits in India. Archibald Wilson’s account of Colin Campbell’s campaign in India in the October 1858 issue of the Edinburgh-based *Blackwood’s* provides a very early example of the importance of the Highland spectacle in dramatizing British military action. Describing Campbell’s review of his troops before the assault on Lucknow, Wilson writes:

Last stood, many in numbers, in tall and serried ranks, the 93^d Highlanders. A waving sea of plumes and tartan they looked, as, with loud and rapturous cheers, which rolled over the field, they welcomed their veteran commander, the Chief of their choice. (489)

This particular scene, and Wilson’s dramatic panning of Highland troops, his focus on the collective impression of their uniforms, would be recalled in many accounts that came after it. A generation later William Fitchett, in his *Tale of the Great Mutiny* (1901), describes the same scene but with even more dramatic detail:

The 93rd [Highlanders] was drawn up in quarter-distance column . . . as Colin Campbell rode down to review his forces that November afternoon. It was in full Highland costume, with kilts and bonnets and wind-blown plumes. Campbell’s Celtic blood kindled when he reached the Highlanders. “Ninety-third!” he said, “you are my own lads; I rely on you to do the work.” And a voice from the ranks in broadest Doric answered, “Ay, ay, Sir Colin, ye ken us and we ken you; we’ll bring the women and children out of Lucknow or die wi’ you in the attempt.” (213)

Fitchett’s description of Campbell before his men thus represents a particularly dramatic example of the spectacle furnished by the figure of the Highland soldier, which reflects the general timbre of his work. In his preface, Fitchett acknowledges a romantic approach to his subject, describing his work as “a simple chain of picturesque sketches,” a “tale,” rather than a complete and “reasoned” history. Yet Fitchett’s reliance on Highland figures to furnish the drama of war is not atypical. From the earliest popular press accounts of the mutiny to Fitchett’s late Victorian work, the spectacle of the Highlander provides an appealing visual in the narrative of war. By freezing the frame of the narrative, both descriptions work as picturesque tableaux

in which the Highlander serves to epitomize the "romance of war" and the glory of the nation's fighting men. The Highland figure makes British masculinity "visible" in the text in a way that no other figure does.

The picturesque spectacle of the Highland figure and its popularity is suggestive of the ways in which military accounts, even as they proclaim their historicity, adopt the narrative conventions of a historical romance.⁷ Tracing the development of the war story, of which, Dawson argues, Scott's historical romances are the progenitor, the story of the soldier-hero in India takes the form of "an adventure quest," in which the British soldier undergoes a perilous journey (mobilization to India) and afterward embarks on a climactic struggle (combat), the eventual outcome of which (victory) "makes possible the recognition of the protagonist as a hero, with which the reader can ultimately identify" (Dawson 55). The figure in *Waverley* that Dawson argues is the paradigmatic British soldier-hero, however, is neither Fergus Mac-Ivor nor Evan Dhu Maccombich but Edward Waverley himself. Waverley's identification with, and attraction to, the Highlander represents only a temporary disruption in the hero's search for a "coherent and effective masculine identity," which will ultimately be achieved only on the return journey south.

It would be the task of James Grant, a distant relative of Scott's and a former ensign in the 62nd Foot, to fully realize the potential of the Highland warrior's role as British soldier-hero—in a prodigious output of novel writing that recounted the thrilling adventures of British military men in imperial settings. This work began with his first novel, aptly titled *The Romance of War* (1848), which narrates the adventures of one Ronald Stuart—heir to an impoverished Highland laird and lieutenant in the Gordon Highlanders—as he encounters bloody combat with Napoleon's troops in the peninsula, hot-tempered Spanish dons, lovely señoritas, and murderous banditti. Grant inherited the romantic adventure form from Scott but adapted it to make the Highland soldier himself the protagonist, all the while affirming the peculiarities of Highland life that made the Highlander a distinctly natural soldier and, furthermore, that must be fostered and maintained within army culture to maintain Highland esprit de corps.⁸

However, if in Grant's work the Highlander plays the protagonist in the British adventure, he also provides the exotic element—what Dawson describes as the "stimulating and unsettling material" that is contrasted "against the conserving familiarity of well-established generic conventions made stable through endless repetition" and that carries "an intense charge of interest and excitement" (54). Both *The Romance of War* and mutiny accounts of Highland soldiers illustrate not only the visual grandeur of the Highlander poised for battle but also the one aspect of the Highland soldier

that most consistently registers in such accounts: his stimulating and unsettling habit of wearing a “dress.”

Recent critics have suggested the tradition of the Highland kilt was largely “invented” in the nineteenth century and was bound up with the militarization of the Highland image. Malcolm Chapman writes of the tartan kilt and knee socks and leather sporran: “This set of garments has *never* been the popular dress of anyone, outside the Scottish Highland regiments of the British army, and outside self-consciously folkloric circles” (7). Hugh Trevor-Roper further emphasizes the links between the military and the use of the kilt, arguing that “in the thirty-five years during which the Celtic peasantry took permanently to the Saxon trousers [when wearing the kilt, except as a military uniform, was actually proscribed by law] . . . it was the Highland regiments alone which kept the tartan industry alive” (25).

However, if it is important to point out that the “Highland” dress is an invented tradition, it is also important to point out that it was (and remains) a culturally resonant invented tradition that provides a complex spectacle of national identity for Scots—Highlander and Lowlander alike—particularly, as we have seen, after George IV’s 1822 visit to Edinburgh. Unlike any other aspect of regimental uniform, the kilt was considered a unique national costume that conveyed the inherent fighting spirit of the men who wore it. Scottish antiquarians, by arguing that the kilt had its antecedents in the ancient tenets of a warrior society, had already provided a useful teleology, establishing the kilt as the traditional costume of Highland men.⁹ In these writings, the kilt’s incorporation into the uniform of Highland regiments in the British army is a sign of the natural and effective transference of Highland energies from rebellion and Jacobitism to loyal service in the British army. Yet, as Chapman argues, the Highland kilt retains its exoticism as an example of “oppositional dress”; the kilt underscores the alterity of Highland masculinity as it makes the Highlander a subject of alluring fascination:

[Highland men] so it seemed to their observers, wore dresses in flagrant contravention of established propriety. This classificatory anomaly excited attention, and it did not need much tweaking of structural oppositions (such as male:female, controlled:uncontrolled, pastoral:settled, wild:civilized) to generate the notion of men whose sexuality was ever-accessible, wild, uncontrolled, and exciting. (17)

As Chapman suggests, Highland exoticism has an erotic charge: The Highland kilt fascinates because it exposes that which should be concealed—the male body—and, even more provocatively, hints at exposing the male sex,

the "source" of masculine virility. The eroticization of the Highland male body, which is always "exposed"—and thus on display—is largely effected through a substitution of body parts. In Grant's work, the eroticization of the Highland body takes place in large part through repeated mention of that part of the Highlander that is always laid bare, his knee. For example, in *The Romance of War* Grant describes the uncanny effect of the image of large numbers of Highlanders in kilts formed in line: "The plumed bonnets, drooping gracefully over the right shoulder, the dark tartan, the hairy purses, the glittering appointments, and long line of muscular bare knees . . . formed a scene at once wild and picturesque" (65). Grant's description repeatedly zeroes in on the image of the exposed knee in what amounts to a fetishization, reminding his audience of Highland deviation from normative British masculinity, while hinting at parts of the body that remain hidden (only just) under the kilt.¹⁰

Accounts of the Indian Mutiny follow Grant's cue, and the kilt is described as subduing and containing the "wild masculinity" of the Highland male beneath an outward show of military discipline. Yet these accounts often emphasize that underneath the Highland kilt still lies a Highland wildness and uncontrolled virility that reveals itself in battle. Fitchett, for example, writes:

Then the bayonets came down to the charge, and with heads bent low and kilts flying in the wind, the Highlanders went in with a run. The charge was in perfect silence . . . but it was so furious that mound and guns were carried in an instant, and the village itself swept through. (133)

Fitchett's description of "kilts flying in the wind" hints at the literal exposure of the Highland body and the figurative exposure of Highland wildness, which in battle can no longer be contained by the uniform. Individual Highlanders are reduced to glimpses of their uniforms as the kilt becomes a visual metonym for a preternatural Highland masculinity in action.

Indeed in many accounts, the kilt functions as a kind of talisman, which works a special magic against native resistance. The peculiar effect that the kilt has on the viewer is illustrated in the memoirs of former Highland regimental surgeon John Munro, who describes the powerful effect the sight of the Highland uniform produces on natives and nonnatives alike. In a passage narrating his first landing in India during the rebellion, Munro writes:

[The regiment] caused quite a sensation in the city of palaces [Calcutta], for a kilted soldier had never been seen there before. The natives gazed in silent wonder at the peculiar dress and the stalwart figures of the new sahibs, or

gagra wallahs (petticoat men) as they called them; and Scotchmen, who had long been exiled from home, rose from their desks, and came out and stood at the doors of their offices to look with feelings of pride at their countrymen (118).

For “Scotchmen,” the kilt is a powerful symbol of their nation that inspires memories of home, yet for natives the very *sight* of the Highland uniform is enough to cause bewilderment and apprehension. The effect of the spectacle of the kilt is so unsettling, so uncanny, that it alone was thought to provoke the wild imaginings of the superstitious native mind.

This is demonstrated more emphatically in the persistence of rumors, often recorded in accounts, that native combatants believed that Highlanders were unearthly apparitions of dread. The anonymous *Narrative of the Indian Revolt from Its Outbreak to the Capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell* (1858), one of the first complete histories of the rebellion, describes the reaction of mutineers:

[T]he natives gaze at the Highlanders with astonishment and dread, and style them (with references to their garb) “the ghosts of the murdered Englishwomen risen to avenge!” The battle of Oano disabused them of this idea, and the Highlanders were pronounced “petticoated devils.” Still they were a puzzle. The Sepoys could understand the existence of devils, but could not comprehend why they should be bare-legged. At last the truth came out. The devils were bare-legged in order more conveniently to break Sepoys across their knees. (189)

W. Gordon-Alexander, an officer in the 93rd Highlanders, offers a variant of this story in his memoirs, adding cannibalism to the list of rumored Highland monstrosities:

[W]e learnt from our native servants that they had invented fearsome stories of the ferocity of the Gogra-wallahs—i.e., “Petticoated-men”—imputing to us a particular liking for curried black babies, especially if we could catch them ourselves, and break their backs across our bare knees! (209)

Both accounts illustrate the power that this bizarre mix of gender confusion and superhuman strength was thought to have on native resistance.¹¹ It also points to the ways in which this effect was particularly tied to gender amid rumors of native atrocities against English women. In his history of the Cawnpore massacre, Sir George Trevelyan narrates a complicated psycho-

logical process of cognitive transformation, as native bewilderment at the sight of kilted Highlanders turns to dread as they begin to apprehend the enormity of their horrible deeds:

When the mutineers first caught sight of the Highland costume, they cried with joy that the men of England had been exhausted, and that the Company had been reduced to call out the women. They soon had reason to repent their mistake, and thenceforward adopted a theory more consistent with the fact, for they held that the petticoats were designed to remind their wearers that they had been sent to India to exact vengeance for the murder of the English ladies. (27)

James Cromb, who wrote several popular accounts of the Highland soldier in action, provides a more dramatic variant of the native shift in attitude from overconfidence to dread. Jumping into the minds of the defending sepoys as they resist the British advance on Cawnpore, Cromb writes:

For a moment their hearts swelled with exultation on the kilted Highlanders, and persuaded themselves that, the Feringhee men being all slain, their wives had now come to offer feeble fight. . . . To-day it was neither crouching civilians, helpless women, nor clinging, crying babes that the Sepoys had before them to hack and maim; but armed men, strong in faith and hope, and eager for battle. (83–84)

The sepoys' exaltation turns to foreboding and eventually to dread when they are easily routed by their Highland attackers, which represents a satisfying and dramatic peripeteia in Cromb's narrative. Yet the satisfaction turns on the Highland inversion of British dress codes, which evokes both the memory of the massacre of British women and the fortitude of British soldiery. Though there is no historical evidence to verify the rumors of sepoy panic and confusion at the uncanny sight of transvestite Highland troops, the "truth effects" of rumor and legend were crucial, as Jenny Sharpe reminds us, in shaping the historical narrative of the rebellion. The stories of native terror in the face of Highland alterity say much about British assumptions about native attitudes. British accounts establish links between acts of Indian resistance to British rule in general and the specific acts of violence committed against British women by Indian insurgents. (I will return to accounts of Indian "atrocities" committed against British civilians later in my discussion.) The spectacle of "petticoated devils" enacts a subtle psychological revenge against Indian mutineers. The anecdote of kilt-inspired native

terror is an expression of a kind of colonial fantasy, which affirms native superstition and ignorance as a cognitive dissonance projected onto the native. Highland difference in these accounts, rather than displaced under a rubric of “Britishness,” instead becomes absolute as it is set in opposition to normative British *and* native gender norms. Highland dress in these examples acts as an “oppositional dress,” strategically deployed by the British against another, native “opposite.”¹²

THE SHRILL SOUND OF SALVATION

The special psychological force of the Highlander is not limited to visual effects alone in rebellion accounts. Rather, the Highland spectacle contains both aural and visual components, as the sound of the bagpipe is covalent with the image of the kilt in a unique one-two punch. If the kilt was thought to evoke the wild manliness of the Highlander, the sound of the bagpipe was thought to rouse his martial spirit as the strains of his traditional national instrument recalled to him his mountain antecedents. S. O. Beeton’s 1867 collection of stories, *Our Soldiers and the Victoria Cross*, devotes an entire chapter to the uses of the bagpipe in war. In it, Beeton sums up the special effect of the bagpipe on Highland men:

Every mountaineer is passionately fond of the mountain pipe; it awakens a thousand associations of the past; it inflames the glow of patriotism; it speaks to his heart at once. It tells him of senses of joy and sorrow where it has enlivened or soothed him in the far north; it recalls the coronach that was played at his father’s grave, the pibroch to which his clansmen have ever marched to victory; it reminds him of the strains that shall welcome his return when the sword has been restored in its scabbard. (129)

The author’s description emphasizes not only the distinct Highland character of the bagpipe, but also its special power to evoke Highland life on multiple levels. The powerful associative effect of the bagpipe “awakens the past” and evokes the rituals and everyday life in the Highlands and the historic exploits of the regiment; it binds the Highland soldier to his community, blurring the distinction between the two.

More often than not, however, it is simply the *sound* of the bagpipe that registers in accounts of the rebellion. The bagpipe inspires Highlanders in combat by producing a sound that can carry, even amid the din of battle, for miles because of its tone quality and volume. Cromb’s description of the battle for Lucknow is typical:

Above the roar of the battle was sounding the wild war notes of the bagpipes—sweetest music in a Highland soldier's ear—for John Macleod, the Pipe-Major of the 93rd, remembered well his duty in the turmoil. He had been among the first to force his way through the breach, and no sooner was he within the building than he began to encourage the men by vigorously playing his pipes. The more hot and deadly the battle became the more high-strung became the piper's feelings, and the more loudly did the bagpipes peal and scream—John standing the while in positions perfectly exposed to the fire of the enemy, to whom doubtless he appeared as some unearthly visitant. (203)

The sound of the bagpipe is shrill; it is a "wail" or a "scream" that "pierces" the air. Cromb's description of Pipe Major Macleod again emphasizes the visual power of the Highland figure, which needs only to present itself to cast fear into the hearts of the native enemy. It also reiterates the fearlessness of the Highlander, who exposes himself to enemy fire just so his comrades can see and hear him clearly, but it is the description of the unique sound quality of the bagpipe that registers perhaps most strongly in this passage. The awesome sound of the bagpipe figures in an Indian Mutiny anecdote in Grant's *British Battles at Land and Sea*: A piper of the 78th Highlanders, who, unable to fix his bayonet at a charging enemy cavalry, seized his pipe and "blew forth such a wild unearthly note that the fellow stopped as if shot, then turning his horse rode off at the gallop, leaving the piper to find his way safely back to the regiment."¹³

The unique sound quality and carrying capacity of the bagpipe figure in one of the most popular stories of the mutiny: the story of Jessie Brown, the Scottish wife of a corporal in the British army, trapped during the siege of Lucknow. In addition to appearing in various forms in histories of the rebellion, the story inspired songs, illustrations, and plays, and figures in Tennyson's commemorative poem "The Defence of Lucknow." The *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* presents the story in the form of a third-person, thirdhand account, as told by a M. de Banneroi, "a French physician in India" who heard it from a "lady, one of the rescue party" of the besieged city. In the story, Jessie Brown is confined to her bed in the besieged British residency compound, consumed with a raging brain fever as the sepoy attack on Lucknow continues with no relief in sight for the beleaguered British force. Awakened from her fever, she suddenly bolts upright and exclaims to the anxious company "'Dinna ye hear it? dinna ye hear it? ay I'm no dreamin', it's the slogan o' the Highlanders! We're saved, we're saved!' Then flinging herself on her knees, she thanked God with passionate fervour" (187). No one in the room can hear what she hears, and no one believes her at first, taking

her exclamations to be the symptomatic ravings of her fever, but of course Jessie proves to be correct: The “slogan of the Highlanders” is the sound of the bagpipes played by Highland regiments as they descend onto the city to begin the attack that will lift the siege. The eyewitness to the scene relates the story’s climax:

At that moment, we seemed indeed to hear the voice of God in the distance when the pibroch of the Highlanders brought us tidings of deliverance, for now there was no longer any doubt of the fact. The shrill, penetrating, ceaseless sound which rose above all other sounds, could come neither from the advance of the enemy, nor from the work of the Sappers. No, it was indeed the blast of the Scottish bagpipes, now shrill and harsh, as threatening vengeance on the foe, then in softer tones seeming to promise succor to their friends in need. Not a heart in the Residency of Lucknow but bowed itself before God. All . . . fell upon their knees, and nothing was heard but bursting sobs and the murmured voices of prayer. (188)

The uncanny sound of the bagpipes gives way to the sound of prayer and is thus encoded in the narrative as the sound of Christian redemption in the face of heathen destruction. It is the sound of Christian vengeance and triumph, the sound of the cavalry coming over the hill, to rescue the women and children from the “Indians” just in the nick of time. The sound of the bagpipe is the sound of God, queen, and country. Yet the dramatic peripeteia of the story depends on the exotic unfamiliarity of the sound of the bagpipes. It is only because Jessie is a Highlander (in some versions, she is Jessie Campbell) that she can *hear* the bagpipes from such a long way off, even when no one else can. As one eyewitness to the scene remarks of the company surrounding Jessie: “Our dull Lowland ears heard nothing but the rattle of the musketry” (187). Thus the story of Jessie Brown reemphasizes Highland alterity as it strategically deploys the sound of that alterity in a narrative that underscores the moral and military superiority of the British in India.

Though the Jessie Brown story continued to capture the imagination of the British public, doubts as to its veracity arose almost immediately after its initial circulation. Even as the *Illustrated Times* published an engraving of the incident in its January 1858 edition, it remarked that the story was “one so romantic and so beautiful, that doubts have been thrown on its authenticity” (quoted in Harrington 164).¹⁴

Yet even though the story’s authenticity was dismissed early on, the continued popularity of the story illustrates both the importance of rumor and romance in war narrative. It also underscores the particular force of Highland material in adding a hopeful element in a story that dramatically

evokes the anxiety of British India attacked at its most vulnerable point and then resolves that anxiety in a comforting resolution: salvation through military victory.¹⁵

SAVAGE AVENGER

Romantic but unsubstantiated stories, like the Jesse Brown story, of the rescue of British civilians, especially of women, reflect the urgent desire for narratives of British success, particularly during the early stages of the rebellion when the multitude of reports coming out of India told of British women dishonored and then murdered along with their children. In the London dailies and popular Sunday papers during the early months of the rebellion, the British national trauma unfolding in India was configured largely as a repeated assault on the female body. The story of "massacre," especially at Cawnpore, would be played out over and over again in rebellion accounts, as British writers attempted to overcome the trauma by moralizing the actions of both the female victims and the men who could not prevent their deaths. The victimization of innocent British women—and the inability of their husbands, fathers, or sons to save them—necessitated the delayed acts of vengeance on the part of British soldiers, whose struggle against the barbaric native became a Christian crusade.¹⁶

As swift and often brutal vengeance became the moral imperative of the British army, Highland soldiers figured as an especially effective kind of "punishing avenger" because of their fortitude and bravery, but also because of their special wild masculinity. Paradoxically, in narratives of British reaction to native "outrage," Highlanders figure as national, Christian avengers not because their character is sharply antithetical to that of the barbaric native, but because in fact it seems to *replicate* native character.

Native massacres of British women confirmed British assumptions that native resistance bespoke native savagery and the chaos that followed from a disruption of colonial rule. The stories of rebel leader Nana Sahib's actions at Cawnpore became the byword for the depravity of native resistance in general. Nana Sahib, upon his retreat from the British garrison, killed his civilian hostages—more than two hundred women and children—and threw their bodies into the Ganges and a well on the grounds of the British residency.¹⁷ In accounts of this massacre, British soldiers are called upon to bear witness to the scene of native outrage and to represent the reaction of the nation as a whole. Significantly, it is not always the atrocities themselves that figure most prominently in accounts of the massacre, but the reaction of British soldiers as they come upon the scene in the aftermath. Trevelyan provided

a detailed account of the scene of the massacre seen through the eyes of the British soldiers, who, “straight from the contested field, wandered sobbing through the rooms of the ladies’ house [and] saw what it were well could the outraged earth have straightway hidden” (335). The catalog of outrage reads as follows:

The inner apartment was ankle-deep in blood. The plaster was scored with sword-cuts: not high up, as where men have fought; but low down, and about the corners, as if a creature had crouched to avoid the blow. Strips of dresses, vainly tied round the handles of doors, signified the contrivance to which feminine despair has resorted as a means of keeping out murderers. Broken combs were there, and the frills of children’s trousers and torn cuffs and pinafores, and little round hats, and one or two shoes with burst latchets. . . . An officer picked up a few curls, preserved in a bit of cardboard, and marked “Ned’s hair, with love”: but around were strewn locks, some near a yard in length, dis severed, not as a keepsake, by quite other scissors. (336)

The once orderly domestic space of British women in the colonies is disordered by native insurgency. Configured as evidence, as the signs of atrocity, fragments of the everyday lives of British women and children become relics that serve to remind British soldiers that they were unable to save those in their care. The scene is so traumatic that it alone acts as justification for the ensuing acts of brutal British military reprisal. The scene of atrocity at Cawnpore immediately provokes what can be described as an outburst of masculine hysteria. Paraphrasing Trevelyan’s authoritative account of the scene, Cromb describes the reaction of the soldiers who first discover it:

The men who had marched so bravely and so un murmuringly from Allahabad, who had rushed to the cannon’s mouth and faced the enemy’s death-hail without flinching; and who had seen their comrades wounded, dying and dead around them, now broke down and wept like “bearded babes.” But sterner thoughts followed. Deep and bitter curses upon the miscreants who had done this deed burst from their heaving hearts, and vows of vengeance terrible to hear. (102)

Fitchett’s account of the scene echoes Cromb’s in describing the manic fury of British soldiers at Cawnpore, yet Fitchett goes even further, narrating the fate of high-caste Brahmin resisters captured at Cawnpore: Compelled to clean up a few inches of the bloodstained floor—violating caste—they were hanged immediately afterward and buried in a ditch. Although Fitchett attempts to contextualize and rationalize acts of British cruelty as indicative

of the severity of the crisis and the uncanny surroundings in which British soldiers found themselves, he acknowledges that such acts of "inhumanity" were ultimately "unworthy of the English name" (147). By describing British acts of violence in terms usually reserved for native acts, Fitchett's work narrates this small but significant rupture in the logic of colonial discourse, a breakdown in the antithetical relation between colonizer and colonized, which Máire ní Fhlathúin has argued is "the legacy of the Indian Mutiny."¹⁸

But beyond the historical circumstances of Highland presence at Cawnpore (members of the 78th Highlanders *were* some of the first British soldiers to reoccupy the residency at Cawnpore), the figure of the Highlander in Fitchett's account and others not only exemplifies the Christian chivalry of the British soldier but also serves to contain the contradictions engendered when British notions of civility/native barbarity collide.¹⁹ The special masculinity of the Highlander, with its smoldering wildness that always lurks just beneath the slight material of military discipline, makes for a natural, guileless instrument to use against native barbarity. Cromb describes the reaction of Highlanders after witnessing the scene at Cawnpore:

They pulled the corpses from the well, and it is said, although we do not vouch for the accuracy of the statement, that when the Highlanders thought they had come upon Miss Wheeler's body, they cut the hair from her head, and sitting down and counting each man his portion, swore that for every hair a rebel should die. (102)²⁰

The desecration of British women provides the spark that ignites the bloodthirsty will to violence of the Highlander. However, Cromb's account, unlike Fitchett's generic account of British reprisal after Cawnpore, makes no gesture toward rationalizing or contextualizing Highland bloodthirstiness. For Cromb, Highland bloodthirstiness is not the product of a special time and place, of the surreal conditions of wartime. Rather, it is a natural, inherent attribute of the Highland male. The desire for bloody vengeance in Cromb's account does not suggest a radical temporary disruption of normative Highland character. Instead, it suggests a romantic return, albeit temporarily, on the part of the Highlander to his primitive, originary state. Savagery, in other words, must be met with equal savagery.

Fitchett explicitly racializes this bloodlust as "Gaelic fury," which can be released upon command. He quotes an eyewitness to a Highland charge at Lucknow:

Before the command could be repeated, or the buglers had time to sound the advance, "the whole seven companies [of Highlanders] like one man leaped

over the wall with such a yell of pent-up rage as I never heard before or since. It was not a cheer, but a concentrated yell of rage and ferocity, that made the echoes ring again; and it must have struck terror into the defenders, for they actually ceased firing.” (224)

Cromb emphasizes both the special ruthlessness of the Highland regiments as well as the ease in which it can be controlled at will by their commanders:

[T]he kilted soldiers never paused. Their formation was perfect and . . . they looked more as if engaged in a display parade than facing the storm and stress of actual warfare. [T]hey brought their bayonets to the charge . . . and like a pack of eager hounds dashed at the gunners. And now came a time of retribution to those black wretches who had the temerity to stand the shock of Gaelic fury. (93)

Gaelic fury in Cromb’s description, a veritable study in racial attributes, is both the unique provenance of Highland men and the general instrument of British retribution against the wretchedness of native resistance. Gaelic fury makes the Highlander the ideal “avenging angel.”²¹

HIGHLANDISM INTO MARTIAL RACE THEORY

The nationalist aims of military writing in the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny prompted the popularity of the anomalous figure of the Scottish Highland soldier—a primitive warrior transformed into a national exemplar.²² Yet the rebellion also signaled the rise of a new understanding of native masculinity that mimicked the very highlandism upon which the exemplarity of the Highland soldier-hero was based. The idea that certain native groups were inherently more martial than others, and would therefore make better soldiers, sprang from the reaction of British military observers in the aftermath of the rebellion.²³ David Omissi writes that as a result of anxieties about native loyalty, British military planners looked to identify ethnic groups that seemingly had remained loyal during the rebellion, particularly those who had taken an active part in helping to quell the resistance. The (British) Bengal army’s pre-rebellion policy of “selective high-caste recruitment,” particularly of Brahmins, was discredited as “most regiments of the Bengal Army had mutinied or had been disarmed in anticipation” (4). Martial race ideology provided a new way of identifying a particular group of native elites who had a stake in continued colonial presence.

British recruitment policy was shaped, in Sinha's words "by the particular imperative of colonial strategies of rule: the co-optation of native elites in the perpetuation of a racist social order" (71). Charles Ball's recounting of the mutiny of a native regiment at Barrackpore in his early (1858) but detailed *History of the Indian Mutiny* adumbrates martial race theory. Ball pointedly observes that Sikhs and Gurkhas professed "unshaken loyalty to the English government, and affected to treat the discontent of the 34th (one of the first to take up arms against the British) and other regiments with disdain and indifference" (1:50). Martial race theory represents a unique mode of British colonial discourse prompted by a profound disruption in colonial order. As colonial authorities tried to make sense of the rebellion, the distinction between those native combatants who did not "mutiny" and those that did became naturalized in a racist script that deemed loyalty an inherent quality of a martial race.

Fomented in military dispatches, policy papers, and officer memoirs after the rebellion, martial race theory achieved common currency in popular literary magazines in the late nineteenth century.²⁴ The extent to which the theory had entered into the general culture is reflected in the preface of G. A. Henty's 1886 adventure novel, *For Name and Fame, or Through Afghan Passes*. In it, Henty gives an illustrative summary of martial race theory for his young readers:

My Dear Lads,

In following the hero of this story with the British army during the last war in Afghanistan you will be improving your acquaintance with a country which is at present . . . of supreme interest to Englishmen. In these pages you will see the strengths and weaknesses of these wild peoples of the mountains; their strength lying in their personal bravery, their determination to preserve their freedom at all costs, and the nature of their country. Their weaknesses consist in their want of organization, their tribal jealousies, and their impatience of regular habits, and of the restraint necessary to render them good soldiers. But when led and organized by English officers there are no better soldiers in the world. (3)

Henty's preface shows how the depiction of admirable native masculine qualities and the colonial project were bound up in popular fiction of the time period. Yet Henty's late-century summary of Afghan society also closely echoes Scott's 1816 description of Afghan tribesman in his review of the Culloden Papers. Henty reproduces many of Scott's anthropological assumptions: the martial instincts and the tribalism of a mountain people—which

lead ever to internecine rivalry and petty feuding—and their attractive fierceness, independence of spirit, and natural bravery in battle. Henty even reproduces Scott's comparativist trope and the insistence that Afghan difference produces reader interest. Henty's Afghans are set in a single opposition in relation to the "British," as are Scott's, yet in Scott's analysis, as we have seen, Afghan society is also *analogous* to that of the Scottish Highlander. Though Scott's and Henty's accounts are separated by several generations and are situated in quite different cultural and historical contexts, juxtaposing these two accounts demonstrates the striking parallels between martial race theory and highlandism.

Military writers after the rebellion began to describe a type of hardy native males sprung from naturally "warlike" races—generally from northern and upland regions of British India—who were naturally intrepid, hardy, ferocious in battle, and loyally devoted to commanding officers. These races were often contrasted with the peoples of more temperate zones. As Streets writes, "The hotter and more tropical the area, the more lazy, lascivious, passive, effeminate and degenerate the population was assumed to be" (*Martial Races* 94). Martial races as a whole were configured as inherently masculine societies in which the military was the noblest vocation to which one could aspire and in which bravery and fighting skill were especially prized. In characterizing its subject's natural hardiness, propensity for warfare, loyalty to his betters, and even the clan structure of his society, martial race theory adopts well-rehearsed assumptions, and although when British military writers spoke of "martial races" they uniformly spoke of native peoples in the East, the discourse neatly reproduces the logic of highlandism. For example, early nineteenth-century narratives of the historical transformation of the Highlander from feuding clansman to disciplined British soldier provided the teleology in martial race writings for the initial recruitment of colonial subjects. Like Highlanders, martial races were characterized as formerly antagonistic combatants who had put up a particularly good fight against British regulars and thus were worthy of active British recruitment. British histories of individual martial race regiments routinely begin with their own colonial version of the Highland defeat at Culloden, the specific historical moment when warlike native resistance is soundly defeated by British military force and then contained and redirected in support of that military force. Hugh Pearse, in his study "The Evolution of the Sikh Soldier," strikes a self-congratulatory note when he writes that "[a]fter the battle of Gujerat" on February 22, 1849, the power of Sikh resistance to the British was "brok[en] for ever" and the "rapidity with which these valiant and haughty enemies accepted British rule is justly considered one of the chief triumphs of our Indian administration" (365).

Writing in 1896, R. W. Falcon, a British army specialist in Sikh recruitment, provides a tidy summary of martial race assumptions:

The Sikh is a fighting man, and his fine qualities are best shown in the army, which is his natural profession. Hardy, brave, and of intelligence; too slow to understand when he is beaten; obedient to discipline; attached to his officers and careless of caste prohibitions, he is unsurpassed as a soldier in the East. . . . The Sikh is always the same, ever genial, good-tempered and uncomplaining; as steady under fire as he is eager for a charge. (quoted in Fox 144)

This collection of admirable essentialized assumptions reflects the importance British military planners placed on loyalty in the aftermath of the rebellion and their anxiety concerning their ability to quell future unrest. The Sikh is not only obedient, he is "careless of caste," which sets him apart from the Brahmin sepoy. The latter, British military planners assumed, had mutinied rather than violate caste by biting on the cartridges of newly issued rifles, greased (so went the rumor) with cow and pig fat. Soldiers recruited from martial races were also thought to be unique among other native troops in their steadfast loyalty to their immediate superiors. If given superior commanders, soldiers of martial races, it was assumed, could perform amazing feats of skill, daring, and courage in battle. Therefore, martial race soldiers required superior—British—commanding officers. Frederick, Lord Roberts, the celebrated commander in chief of the Indian army from 1885 to 1893 and ardent advocate of martial race theory who was a lieutenant in the Bengal Horse Artillery during the rebellion, emphasizes in his memoirs the critical role of the British commanding officer:

Indian soldiers, like soldiers of every nationality, require to be led; and history and experience teach us that eastern races (fortunately for us), however brave and accustomed to war, do not possess the qualities that go to make leaders of men, and that Native officers in this respect can never take the place of British officers. I have known many Natives whose gallantry and devotion could not be surpassed, but I have never known one who would not have looked to the youngest British officer for support in time of difficulty and danger. (*Forty-one Years in India* 444)

By commending the natives' "gallantry and devotion" while asserting their failings as officers, Roberts paints an idealized paternal relationship between the native soldier and his British commanding officer even as he affirms colonial assumptions. Roberts also echoes Falcon when he argues that no comparison could be made between "the martial value" of Indian

army regiments “recruited amongst the Gurkhas of Nepal or the warlike races of northern India, and . . . one recruited from the effeminate peoples of the south” (*Forty-one Years in India* 442). Both Falcon’s and Roberts’s descriptions reveal how the warrior masculinity of the martial race subject often was established within a comparative framework that sets him apart from the relative effeminacy of other Eastern races. Roberts’s reference to the effeminate peoples of south India is a veiled allusion to the colonial disdain for Bengali society in the late nineteenth century that Sinha identifies, which was particularly directed against “the grandiose pretensions and the economic impotence of the potentially disloyal Anglicized or English-educated Bengalis,” who relied on “professional or administrative employment” (Sinha 17–18). George MacMunn, a former major of the Royal Field Artillery, gives the most detailed and systematic account of martial race theory in two works on the subject, *Martial Races of India* (1911) and *The Armies of India* (1922), and he provides a more pointed critique of Bengali masculinity. In *The Armies of India*, MacMunn contrasts the passive “people of Bengal” with the martial races of India: “Even those [Bengalis] with the most-cultivated brain, the trading classes, the artizan classes, and the outcaste tribes, are men to whom the threat of violence is the last word” (*Armies* 129). MacMunn’s racially hierarchical comparison of native masculinities also functions as a comparison within a comparison. He suggests that the phenomenon of martial races is in itself proof of Eastern difference:

It is one of the essential differences between the East and the West, that in the East, with certain exceptions, only certain classes and clans can bear arms; the others have not the physical courage necessary for the warrior. In Europe, as we know, every able-bodied man, given food and arms, is a fighting man of some sort, some better, some worse, but still as capable of bearing arms as any other of his nationality. In the East, or certainly in India, this is not so. (*Armies* 29)

Martial race theory reinforces essentialized British notions of native character and fits neatly into more general racist assumptions about colonial subjects. MacMunn describes how these racial assumptions became the basis for the army’s native recruitment and organization policy in India. In *The Armies of India* he writes that in order to ensure martial race “purity,” all native regiments were composed along racial lines, and no members of one race were placed into the regiment of another. In addition,

[g]reat precautions are taken to ensure that the men really are what they

profess to be, and their statements as to birth and tribe, etc., are sent to the civil authorities to be verified and corroborated, should the guarantee of the Indian officers in the regiment or other reliable evidence be not forthcoming in the corps. (*Armies* 142)

As part of a particular Anglo-Indian discourse that emanated primarily from the colonial site, martial race theory points to the complexity of British constructions of colonial alterity, particularly as it relates to the military occupation and its constant effort to suppress continued armed native resistance.

The complexities and shifting variances of ethnic identity and allegiances in colonial India were not lost to Anglo-Indian military writers. Indeed, such an awareness often formed the basis for the legitimization of British colonial rule. William Hodson, commander of "Hodson's Horse" during the rebellion, describes the ironic twists of history that brought Sikh forces from the recently conquered Punjab to fight alongside British ones during the rebellion:

A nation which could conquer a country like the Punjab so recently with a Hindustani army, and then turn the energies of the conquered Sikhs to subdue the very army by which they were tamed . . . a nation which could do this is destined indeed to rule the world. (quoted in Pearse 366)

As military administrators struggled to make sense of the rebellion, to resolve the contradictions in colonial assumptions the rebellion engendered, martial race ideology provided a way in which to neatly divide native violence into two categories: the violence of colonial people who were loyal to the British and the violence of those who were not. Martial race ideology, in short, provided a useful framework upon which to base a restructuring of the British army in India and of Indian society in general, a framework which racializes "loyalty" and which had its origins in Scottish highlandism.

CROSS-CULTURAL HIGHLANDISM

Like highlandism, martial race theory is predicated on a geographical determinism that maps an admirable fierceness and propensity for warfare onto a highland topography. The totalizing force of this mapping is revealed in the frequent recourse in post-mutiny military accounts to analogous comparison between martial races and Scottish Highlanders and observations of universal affinity among "highland" soldiers from the far corners of Britain's

empire. For example, in a passage in which MacMunn describes the ability of ancient Rajput princes to maintain their cultural integrity while migrating into the southern lowland regions of the subcontinent, he writes:

It is as if the Scottish Highlanders and their chiefs, their clansmen and their dune-vassals remained cognate, aloof and separate from the rest, colonizing far and wide but remaining apart with great pride of place, from the rest of the world. (*Martial Races* 7)

MacMunn's allusion to Highland clan structure serves to illuminate for his readers an unfamiliar "Other" by an analogous comparison to another, familiar one. Afterward, MacMunn expands his analogy by making an observation of contemporary Highland culture:

Incidentally perhaps it may be said, if you had seen a Highland gathering in the Rocky Mountains or the Scottish regiments of Canada in their kilts and feather bonnets, you might feel the Scottish clansmen have to some extent, remained wherever they have spread as have the Rajput clans in India, but minus the inexorable religious spacing. (7)

MacMunn digresses to examine regions far from the subcontinent of Asia, but the straightforward comparison he makes between highland martial peoples demonstrate the expansive versatility of highlandism.

This versatility allows Fitchett to characterize the Gurkhas in the *Tale of the Great Mutiny* as "sturdy, undersized little Highlanders, born fighters all of them, and ready to follow their commanding officer . . . on any dare-devil feat to which he might lead them" (278). Indeed, Gurkhas were thought to be the race of people that most closely resembled Scottish Highlanders, and, as S. B. Chaudhuri writes, were admiringly labeled "Himalayan Highlanders" during the rebellion (36). Moving beyond analogy to an assertion of affinity, Nigel Woodyatt, an early twentieth-century English commanding officer of the 7th Gurkha Rifles, in his memoirs describes the personal bond of fellow feeling that must arise when the men of one highland race are placed in close proximity to those of another:

Mr. Thomas Atkins—especially the Highland Atkins—and the Gurkha are great friends. They fight together, take walks together, smoke together and drink together, the while the Gurkha copies his paragon in all he does, even to learning his bagpipes. That they are quite unable to converse does not seem to matter in the least. Their tastes are similar, and they are just attracted to one another and become pals. (Woodyatt 179–80)

Such cross-cultural affinity reached into all aspects of social habit, and Gurkha regiments even adopted Highland sartorial and musical traditions. Woodyatt recounts Gurkha "fondness" for the bagpipe, writing, "[E]very [Gurkha] battalion has a complement of pipers now. It is usual to send selected men to a Highland regiment for a proper course of six months or more, with refresher classes every two or three years afterwards" (186). By the middle of the twentieth century, records a contemporary military historian, "Gurkha pipers with plaids, following the traditions of Highland regiments, entered the mess after dinner and marched round the table playing, after which the pipe-major took his tot of whisky with the colonel and called 'Slanthe!' [*sic*] It is still the custom" (Farwell 128).

Woodyatt also relates an anecdote that illustrates highland affinity, recounting the experiences of a Colonel Jack Strachey, who was riding through the streets of Kabul one day during the Second Afghan War (1878–80). The colonel

came upon an excited crowd gathered round a gigantic Highlander of the Black Watch, just in front of a shop. On pushing up to see what was the matter, Strachey observed that the Highlander was quietly puffing at his pipe and looking on, while a Gurkha, who reached up to about this waist, was holding forth in his own lingo, which was as intelligible as Gaelic to the Afghans. Enquiring what was the matter, the Highlander replied: "Well, sir, I don't rightly ken. There's a deal of trouble about some money paid, but my little friend is seeing to it, and it's bound to be all right, sir." (180)

As in an amusing digression in an adventure novel, the normative hero comes upon the bewildering but benign goings-on of a jabbering group of natives.

Strachey's story also suggests that in the logic of highlandism the "war-like" character of mountain people ultimately transcends the boundaries of race, region, or even time. Such a logic seems to place both categories of highland warrior on a sort of racial continuum, rather than on opposite and exclusive poles in a binary system. Yet, as I have shown, in the latter half of the nineteenth century the figure of the Highland soldier continued to embody Britain's national superiority. The terror-producing spectacle of the Highland uniform, the eerie echoing wail of the bagpipe, and the ferocity of the "Gaelic fury" unleashed are depicted in war narratives of the Indian Mutiny again and again. In these depictions, the unique aspects of Highland masculinity are framed in a national/racial script which codes the rebellion as a struggle between Anglo-Saxon civility and native barbarity. Yet as the term "Gaelic fury" suggests, the logic of colonial discourse also seems to

place the Highlander on the wrong side of the colonial binary. Neither “cool,” “steadfast,” “calm,” nor “workmanlike”—the characteristics of the normative British fighting man—the character of the Highlander seems to have more in common with that of the “wild” native sepoy. In a brief passage, Fitchett seems to acknowledge the racial affinities between the native and the Highlander. He writes that the sepoy does have one “Celtic quality”:

[H]is loyalty must have personal object. He will endure, or even love, a despot, but it must be a despot he can see and hear. He can be ruled; but it must be by a person, not by a “system.” When the commander of a regiment of Sepoys ceased to be a despot, the symbol and centre of all authority, and became only a knot in a line of official red tape, he lost the respect of his Sepoys, and the power to control them. (12)

Even in an extremely racialized account such as Fitchett’s, the figure of the Highlander slips back and forth between native and British, between Self and Other, as the anomalies embedded within it continually surface, disrupting the logic of colonialist discourse.

THE HIGHLAND SOLDIER-HERO AND THE FAILURE OF EXEMPLARITY

The image of the Highland soldier-hero is especially resonant in narratives of military adventure directed toward adolescent males. As the century progressed, the popularity of the Highland soldier continued to rise, and Fitchett’s 1901 *Tale of the Great Mutiny* demonstrates how the figure of the Highlander continued to be relied upon to furnish the “romance of war” in histories of India. His work also reveals the influence of a genre that rose to prominence in the late nineteenth century: juvenile literature. In the heyday of Britain’s imperial rule, juvenile literature, particularly that aimed at boys, celebrated the exploits of Britain’s fighting men throughout the nation’s history and around the world. John M. Mackenzie suggests that the rise in popularity of boys’ journals such as S. O. Beeton’s *Boy’s Own Magazine* is part of an accelerated, jingoistic “New Imperialism” of the latter half of the nineteenth century. He writes that “juvenile literature ‘wedded’ the ethic of self-improvement” with the “late nineteenth-century worldview . . . suffused with the patriotic, racial, and militarist elements which together made up the new popular imperialism” (199). Periodicals such as Beeton’s fed an ever-increasing demand for adventure stories and historical romances, which depicted the world as a “vast adventure playground in which Anglo-Saxon

superiority could be repeatedly demonstrated vis-à-vis all other races, most of whom were depicted as treacherous and evil" (Mackenzie 204). The success of writers such as Henty and R. M. Ballantyne would be built upon the romanticization of British exploit, and the writings of authors whose work was not explicitly aimed at children—such as Fitchett and Cromb—nevertheless reveal the influence of the genre in their stark racism and unambiguous celebration of British manliness as well as their melodramatic style and strong narrative structure. These works also reveal the influence of the "self-improvement" agenda of juvenile fiction. Each chapter, each scene in Fitchett's work, for example, becomes a tidy exploration of masculine character. For each crisis, some particular British fighting man must invariably demonstrate some combination of "coolness," "fortitude," "intellect," or "daring." No less than Beeton's or Henty's stories for boys, Cromb's and Fitchett's works serve as vehicles for presenting a model of exemplary masculine behavior. This phenomenon was, of course, not new, but by the 1890s exemplarity became a standard function of the war story: In the supreme struggle that is combat, the British soldier-hero is seen to undergo his trial by fire, which both demonstrates and molds his character. As Mackenzie suggests, even the very titles of such writing "reflected contemporary hero-worship." Citing Henty, Mackenzie writes, "[I]n [his titles] the names of imperial and military heroes stood forth like totems identifying the milieu and the allegiances of the contents of the books" (213).

The popularity of the Highland soldier in late Victorian accounts suggests that the figure could serve as an ideal exemplar of British manly character and that reference to the individual exploits of Highland soldiers who fought in the Indian Mutiny would be commonplace. Yet there seem to be few accounts that relate the deeds of individual Highland soldiers, even though in general the Indian Mutiny marked the beginning of Victorian interest in, and depiction of, "Tommy Atkins," the common British soldier, who by the 1880s would be celebrated in writings such as those of Rudyard Kipling. The *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, for example, though it highlights the romantic exploits of Highland soldiers in several episodes, invariably depicts them as an undifferentiated mass, never singling out the actions of individuals. The Highland soldier is almost always anonymous, meant to *typify* the collective qualities of his race rather than *exemplify* the individual qualities of the British man. Ultimately the Highland figure, which embodies British masculine prowess in general, fails as an exemplar of that very prowess.

Exemplarity in Indian Mutiny accounts is built not only upon the idealization of male figures but on the identification of young readers with these figures. Dawson adopts Kleinian theory to describe the psychological process of reading the "hero." Such a reading involves a psychic "splitting,"

which involves reader disassociation from villainous figures; the idealization of the hero figure; and “projective identification” in which the reader sees in the hero qualities or attributes that he himself shares or might aspire to. Dawson reads the romantic war story as “embody[ing] the imaginative charge of wish-fulfilling idealization, replete with utopian possibility” (55). Exemplarity in these stories premises a reader who desires to emulate the character of the British soldier-hero and who therefore must first see himself as fitting the mold. Yet because the military prowess of the Highland soldier is essentialized—bound up with his ethnicity—the Highlander is not available as a role model for anyone. Only a Highlander can follow the peculiar warrior code of the Highland soldier. A non-Highlander can never be a Highland soldier, and, conversely, the Highland soldier can follow only the role prescribed for him.

This failure of exemplarity reinforces the paradoxical nature of the construction of Highland masculinity as illustrated in Beeton’s collection of war stories that first appeared in *Boy’s Own Magazine: Our Soldiers and the Victoria Cross*. After declaring flatly that the book was “written for Boys,” Beeton lays out the pedagogical aims of the work:

[T]he leading thought in this book about Soldiers [is] it is meant to keep alive the bravery of youth in the experience of manhood. [The Editor] is of the opinion that anything which helps to make Boys more in love with true courage is good work done—he believes that bravery excites bravery, just as iron sharpeneth iron; and so he has confidence in this book being useful.
(vi)

The book sets out to achieve its aim by devoting the latter two-thirds of the work to the exemplary stories of contemporary individual recipients of the Victoria Cross, most of whom fought in Britain’s colonial wars. Chapter titles, like those of Henty’s books, mark the “totemic” forms of heroic endeavor: “Captain W. A. Kerr, South Mahratta Horse, and the Victoria Cross,” “‘Luc-know Kavanagh’ and the Victoria Cross,” “Samuel Mitchell and the Victoria Cross; or, The Gate Pa at Tauranga,” and so on. Yet the first third of the book—six full chapters—is devoted to the exploits of “Our Highland Regiments.” Even so, there are few references to the achievements of individual Highland soldiers, and only two are mentioned by name. Indeed the entire section rehearses familiar assumptions as to Highlanders’ “natural aptitude” for war, their “fortitude,” “instinctive discipline,” and “devoted attachment to their own regiments and officers.” Highland masculinity is idealized in accounts of war, but at the same time it is deemed a peculiar deviation from normative British masculinity. Because Highland heroism is considered a

manifestation of his racial heritage, the Highlander soldier himself is rendered incapable of "self-improvement."²⁵ Concomitantly, depictions of the Highland hero betray no anxiety that he is susceptible to the bugbears of Victorian manhood: idleness, leisure, or domestication. Neither is Highland masculinity seen to require a constant, arduous ascetic regimen to shore it up. In short, the "effeminate Highlander" is a contradiction in terms.

In the military service of the empire, the Highlander finds the perfect expression for his "natural" propensities, yet the rigidity of the construction of Highland masculinity is also its most profound limitation. The assumption that the Highlander is naturally suited for a military life ensures his unsuitability for anything else, which precludes alternative imaginings, alternative forms of representation. The discourse of highlandism ties a heterogeneous collection of imperial men—from towns and villages in Scotland and India alike—to the colonial project, as their livelihoods, their cultures, and their desires are defined wholly in the context of imperialism.



CHAPTER FIVE

“Not Absolutely a Native nor Entirely a Stranger”

*Anne Grant, Queen Victoria, and the Highland Travelogue**

during her yearly sojourn at Balmoral in the Highlands in September 1882, Queen Victoria received the happy news of the victory at Tel-el-Kebir of a British force, largely comprised of Highland regiments, against Egyptian insurgents led by Said Arabi. Afterward, Victoria herself described in her Highland journal the elation that seized the entire household. Extracts of this journal would later be published in two volumes. After days of anxiety and dread, Victoria writes, the news of British victory prompted her Highland servants to light a bonfire in celebration atop Craig Gowan, near Balmoral. The queen’s jubilation is both particularly heartfelt as her own son Arthur, the Duke of Connaught, had taken part in the operation and “behaved admirably” (*More Leaves* 400–401). This entry in the queen’s journal reflects her special admiration for her Highland regiments, an admiration she shared with the general British populace. The entry also illustrates the dual role of her Highland journal. On the one hand, the journal is a private, intimate account of a mother’s immediate concern for the welfare of her child. On the other hand, the journal is a public statement of Victoria’s role as sovereign, as “mother” to her fighting men and to the British Empire. Moreover, Victoria’s journal documents her total devotion to the Highland world she had come to know intimately after forty years of extended stays. Victoria’s diaries reveal the extent to which she had come to regard her visits to the Highlands as both a time and place where she could live more truly, more authentically. Free to pursue a life of domestic bliss—of sketching, walking with her family,

* I first described the liminality of Grant’s subjectivity in an earlier paper presentation “‘Not Absolutely a Native nor Entirely a Stranger’: Hybridity and the Highland Tour in the Writings of Anne Grant,” Scotland, Ireland, and the Romantic Aesthetic Conference, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, July 6, 2002. Betty Hagglund later pursues this idea, describing Grant’s “insider and outsider” status in an essay “‘Not Absolutely a Native nor Entirely a Stranger,’ the Journeys of Anne Grant,” *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. Glen Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004).

and, most of all, spending time with her husband—Victoria feels never more "at home" than when she is "away" in the Highlands.

Victoria's writings reveal the central role of travel to the Highlands in the formation of her own sense of self. They also reveal a broader picture of the anomalous condition of the Highlands as travel destination in nineteenth-century Britain. Both an idealized space of home and a site of difference, of cozy cottage and picturesque primitives, the Highlands were at the same time strange *and* familiar. As much as the Highlands were on the very margin of national space, they were, in Victoria's self-fashioning, the center of the nation, where she consolidated her rule by playing the roles of domestic wife and mother. The queen's Highland travelogue therefore plays out an inversion of the "unhomeliness" that Bhabha identifies as the paradigmatic condition of both the colonial settler and the post-colonial immigrant: a condition of unsettledness that derives from inhabiting a space that is familiar yet not totally one's own.¹ In Victoria's account, it is her English residence at Windsor—the nominal space of "home"—that becomes the space of unsettledness, of unease, while the "unfamiliar" Highlands becomes the space of fully actualized Selfhood. Victoria's description of her life in the Highlands thus fashions a unique form of British imperial subjectivity as it instances a unique form of writing on the Highlands.

Victoria's journal extracts represent the most well-known example of Highland travel writing in the nineteenth century, but her unsettled picture of "home" and "away" owes much to the pioneering earlier work of Anne Grant, whose influential contributions to the image of the Highland world has fallen from critical view. Grant's career began in 1803 with the publication by subscription of *Poems on Various Subjects*² and continued with her two-volume *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, published in 1811. In between, she published her most popular work, her three-volume collection *Letters from the Mountains*, which was first published in 1806 and which ran to five editions by 1813.³

In the outpouring of her work, Grant's work reveals the influences of Scottish Enlightenment historiographical theory, as she seeks to provide a broad overview of a semitribal society that exhibits the peculiar manners and traits of the infancy of human civilization. The protoethnographic underpinnings of Grant's work—much of which predates the 1810 publication of *The Lady of the Lake* and the 1814 publication of *Waverley*—make it an important precursor to Scott's. At the same time, Grant's work provides a rich and underexamined alternative to Scott's vision of the Highlands as the domain of romantic adventure set against a broad historical backdrop. In her detailed and voluminous descriptions of Highland home life and the everyday routines of Highlanders, particularly of women, Grant—as do writers

such as Mary Brunton, Susan Ferrier, and Christian Isobel Johnstone—adds a new dimension to the picture of the Highlands in the Romantic period, expanding the view to include alternative arenas of Highland life. Yet Grant's depiction of the Highlands she inhabits is also fraught with contradiction and ambiguity, as she configures the Highlands as a site of ideal domestic and social relations that is also a site of difference in relation to the world of her English-speaking readers. More than a sympathetic stranger in the local culture, Grant feels never more "at home" than in the Highlands, while maintaining the privileged position of one who claims to know the culture in its totality and who is able to speak for it. Grant thus speaks from within and without the Highlands, with a doubled voice that is akin to, but different than, the militarist autoethnography of Stewart. As a "Highland" author writing in English for an English-speaking audience, Grant shares with Stewart a desire to make the Highlands familiar to her readers. By defining herself as "not entirely a stranger nor entirely a native," however, Grant carves out a liminal subjectivity that resides in the space between the two terms and that highlights the ambiguity that surround both belonging and anomie.

Grant bequeaths to Victoria this same ambiguity of Self, as the queen situates herself as both "at home" and as stranger in a strange land, an image of the Highland world as both homely and unhomely. Both writers create a kind of "domestic ethnography" that reveals the ambivalence of one who lays claim to a Highland home she calls her own while reserving the authority to speak, from a distance, as an ethnographic observer. Victoria's work is worth a close examination in itself, however, as it represents a crucial element in her own participation in the contestation of her image as Britain's imperial sovereign. As it fashions an image of a simple "Highland widow," Victoria's journal reveals both her own ambivalence about this imperial identity and the continuing role of the Highlands in shaping ideas of nation and empire well into the nineteenth century.

WOMEN TRAVEL WRITERS, NATION, AND EMPIRE

Once the exclusive domain of male writers such as Martin Martin, Thomas Pennant, and Samuel Johnson, Highland travelogues by women proliferated in the late eighteenth century, as the informality of travel writing made it a more accepted genre in which women could write. In addition, as war with France closed the continent to British travelers, the Highlands became a particularly attractive "home tour" destination beginning in the late eighteenth century; the region seemed to afford a unique zone of primitiveness

within the nation itself, even as it paradoxically became ever more accessible and convenient. "For English tourists and travel writers," John Glendening writes, "this pristine and topographical otherness, accompanied by a sense of adventure in experiencing it, was to be found conveniently close by and, because of the Union of 1707, in a portion of their own country."⁴ The burgeoning field of the women's travelogue allowed for the increasing role of women in describing and cataloging the peripheries of empire, both within the British Isles and beyond. As recent critics have shown, women's travelogues highlight the differences between men and women's relationships to the colonial world and the ways in which uneven power relations based on gender *within* Britain helped shape, and were shaped by, imperialism.⁵ As Indira Ghose writes, women travel writers both upheld and undermined male-centered discourses on empire, as though they "expose . . . women's ambivalent role in colonialism, caught between subversion and affirmation."⁶

The complexity of women's relation to colonialism is underscored by Sara Suleri, who describes the importance of the domestic as a site of "the Feminine Picturesque."⁷ The Feminine Picturesque—which for Suleri encompasses a wide range of representational practices and genres, from landscape sketching and landscape description to both informal and formal ethnography—is a peculiarly dual discourse that on one level affirms colonialist assumptions but on a subversive level "implicitly question[s] the symbolic relevance of women to a colonial discourse" (78).

The intimacies established between colonial spectator and colonial subject is the focus of Elizabeth Bohls's work on British women's travel writing. Bohls argues that through travel writing, "the literate eighteenth-century British woman challenged the prevailing male language of aesthetics"⁸ by undermining key assumptions of the picturesque: that aesthetic criteria are universal and constant, that the viewer's relation with his subject must always be one of disinterestedness, and that aesthetic contemplation must be completely divorced from moral, political, or utilitarian activities or concerns.⁹ Yet these women writers—"entitled by class, but not by gender, to the authority of the aesthetic subject"—also offered deeply divided texts. Bohls describes Dorothy Wordsworth's journal of her travels in the Highlands as constantly oscillating between the "aesthetic practice of scenic tourism and counter-touristic concern for rural Scots' material conditions of existence" (183). Aesthetic detachment from the Highlands in Wordsworth's journal gives way to moments of "extraordinary empathy with individuals dwelling in this beautiful barren land" (189). Unlike her interest in the pleasing landscape of the Highlands, her interest in the domestic life of Highland families

often prompts an outward sympathy for the difficulty of their lives. What Suleri might identify as “the strictures of sentimentality” in Wordsworth’s depictions of the everyday lives of Highland women, Bohls sees as a key element of Wordsworth’s antitouristic stance. Bohls writes, “[A] web of bonds between women, established through transactions over food and lodging but extending beyond this practical nexus, forms a significant element of Wordsworth’s counter-aesthetic textual practice” (191).

In looking at two influential examples of Highland travelogue by women, I want to follow the lead of critics who have described both the critical role of British women in shaping imperial discourse and the ambivalence embedded in their work. Yet I also wish to suggest that though writers like Ghose, Suleri, and Bohls are careful to label their subjects as *British* (not just English) women writers, their use of the term does not account for the multiple positions from which British writers, men and women, sought to define themselves, positions which shaped their perspectives. For example, both Suleri and Bohls include works by Scottish women in their studies; Bohls, for example, devotes a chapter to the journal of Janet Schaw, a middle-aged woman from a propertied East Lothian family who accompanied her brother to family-owned sugar plantations in the West Indies in 1774. Yet Bohls offers no suggestion on how a Scottish woman might offer an alternative account of imperial relations than an English one, at a time when Scots were sensitive to increasing cultural and political marginalization at home while dominating the West Indian sugar trade.¹⁰ If British women’s writing highlights the conflicted relation of women to empire, then Scottish women were particularly conscious of the complexity surrounding an imperial “Britishness.”

ANNE GRANT’S DOMESTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

The assumption that Highland society—in the stadial framework of Scottish Enlightenment theory—is a primitive, first-stage society not only establishes the frame in which Anne Grant describes them, but, as Scott suggests concerning his own work, also furnishes reader interest in them in the first place. In the preface to the *Essays*, for example, Grant looks back on her previous writings and claims they derived their chief interest “from the fidelity of the delineations they presented” but also from “the images they reflected, of a mode of life more primitive than what is usually met with” (1:iv). Establishing herself as a pioneer in the study of primitive humankind, she ponders why those fascinated with the progress of early human societies have looked in remote countries of the world or in obscure periods of local history,

"bewilder[ing] themselves in endless and fruitless researches, regarding the ancient Scythians and modern Tartars, the Belgae, the Gauls, the Goths, and the more modern Danes . . ." to the total neglect of "what is obvious and within reach . . . concealed in the recesses of their native country" (1:7). As Britain's own living primitives, Highlanders provide ample material to satisfy the curiosity of the natural historian, and by focusing on the contemporary Highland world, rather than a distant Celtic "golden age" of Ossianic poetry, Grant shifts the focus of Highland writing from the antiquarian concerns surrounding the accuracy of Macpherson's literary claims to the more anthropological frame of Scott and a host of successive writers.¹¹ Stewart, as we have seen, cites Grant in his *Sketches*, and Scott, in his "Postscript Which Should Have Been a Preface" to *Waverley*, acknowledges the debts owed to his predecessors. He lists Grant's *Essays* and Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808) as two recent works "by female authors . . . whose genius is highly creditable to their country" as they give a picture of the manners and customs of the Scottish people "with striking and impressive fidelity" (494).¹²

Though the *Letters* represents a less systematic and less formal study than the later *Essays*, its ethnographic stance is no less evident. Instead, as Grant herself writes, the *Essays* only "completes" the work of her previous writing. If Grant explicitly authorizes her formal treatise on Highland folklore in the preface to the *Essays*, as she is one "not entirely a stranger nor entirely a native," the *Letters* chronicles the making of this liminal subjectivity.¹³ Also, the diaristic informality of the *Letters* allows Grant to experiment and venture into a variety of literary terrains, including biography, poetry, translation, and her own dissertation on the "authenticity of the poems of Ossian." Yet in other ways, the diaristic structure highlights the way in which Grant authorizes herself to speak on behalf of the Highlands. In contrast to Scott, for example, who is careful to announce the limitations of his own access to Highland culture—particularly as he did not know the language—Grant grounds her assertion that she is an authority on her subject, on her own firsthand experience of living in the Highlands and speaking Gaelic. As she proclaims in the *Letters*, Highlanders "are a people never to be known unless you live among them, and learn their language" (2:53).

Indeed "living among them" for quite some time, Grant recounts a Highland residence commencing in 1773, when she was nineteen, and ending thirty years later. In the Highlands she would meet and marry her husband, John Grant, parish minister in Laggan, whom she met while living at Fort Augustus with her father, a British army officer. She would not leave the Highlands until 1803, after the death of her husband, by which time she had published her first book of poems on the Highlands and had given

birth to twelve children, four of whom had died in childhood. Experience forms the basis for Grant's descriptions of the Highlands while establishing her credentials to write about them, yet, interestingly enough, her experiences also form the basis for her cultural comparisons. Prior to his posting in the Highlands, Grant's father was stationed in colonial New York, where his family belonged to an isolated but close-knit military community on the northern frontier of the British Empire in North America. Grant traveled in areas where, as she describes it, no British woman had yet ventured. She also learned a smattering of Mohawk language, later writing how she had "delighted to hover about the wigwams and converse with those of the Indians, and we very frequently mingled languages" (*Memoirs of an American Lady* 1:126). In the *Letters* Grant describes the effects of too rapidly "civilizing" primitive peoples, citing the particular example of the Mohawks, who, like Highlanders, little benefited by relinquishing the "useful and pleasing knowledge" that once belonged to them as "savages" (1:107–108). Grant's criticism represents a familiar Enlightenment indictment of the values of civil society and concomitant idealization of primitive society within a comparativist frame that reinforces the validity of her theories on social progress. Yet Grant's knowledge of the Mohawks, or "my Mohawk friends," as she calls them, is a product not of her reading, but of her direct experience as a child of living among Mohawk people. Native encounters in multiple residencies on the peripheries of the empire thus licenses Grant's ethnographic account but also points to the complexity of her desire to inscribe herself into the world she recounts.¹⁴

Rather than a random collection of writings on disconnected subjects, the *Letters* provides a coherent narrative of gradual transformation, of gradual acculturation, as Grant, in her words, becomes "naturalized" in the Highlands. The early entries of the *Letters* are most conventionally touristic and are structured by Grant's travel to a succession of well-trodden tourist destinations. In her aesthetic detachment from and disinterest in the concerns of the local community, Grant's initial depictions of the Highland landscape adopt the language of the picturesque, as each successive landscape she describes is marked by its special ability to produce amazement. The description of the scenery during a visit to Loch Lomond is typical:

Ben Lomond's great head was wrapt in such a thick veil of clouds, that the nearer we drew the less we saw it. . . . [T]he whole party seemed lost in meditation, till the sight of Loch Lomond roused us. What a happy faculty is an active imagination to combat the evils of sickly sensibility! I past over all the beautiful groves and cornfields that adorn the lower side, for I have seen such things before . . . [b]ut the solemn and melancholy grandeur of the lofty dark

mountains, and abrupt rocks tufted with heath and juniper, that rose on the other side of the lake . . . arrested my attention at once. (1:9–10)

The sublime of Highland landscape seizes Grant, threatening to overwhelm her in its grandeur and producing a powerful, if typical, reaction. In addition to their affective power, the Highlands of Grant's early letters also have a particular associative power in evoking the epic realm of the poetry of Ossian, which James Macpherson had introduced to the world. Grant early on admits to an "Ossianic mania" in which "every passing cloud, brightened with the beams of the moon, appeared to my mind's eye a vehicle for the shades of the lovely and the brave that live in the songs of other times" (1:12). Adopting a dominant convention of the late eighteenth century, Grant invests the Highland landscape with Ossianic poetic values but also, as was the convention, makes visits to particular sites associated with the poetry.¹⁵ In the description of her first visit to Glencroe, the reputed site of the River Cona, which was associated with Ossian, allusions to the poetry fairly burst out onto the page:

In this romantic retreat where a blue stream bends its course, with a half circular sweep, through the most peaceful and secluded of narrow vales, the matchless melody of the sweet voice of Cona first awakened the joy of grief. . . . Why did I not go there to meet the fair spirit of Malvina in the haunt of roes? Happy daughter of Toscar! to have thy spotless faith, thy virtuous sorrows, and thy soul-inspired beauties, immortalised in the sublime and tender strains of thy heroic friend! (1:77–78)

Grant was *not* a tourist, despite these sentiments, and her prolonged stay in the Highlands left her feeling less amazed and more alienated and isolated. In letters written in 1802 to George Thomson, for whom she had provided translations of Gaelic poetry and lyrics for his collection of Scottish songs, Grant looks back at her early life with mixed emotion, recalling the sublime impressions of the landscape but also a deep depression:

[D]etermined to like the Highlands . . . it is not easy to say how much I was repelled and disappointed. In vain I tried to raise my mind to the tone of sublimity. The rocky divisions that rose with so much majesty in description, seemed like enormous prison walls, confining caitiffs in the narrow glens. These, too, seemed the dreary abodes of solitude and silence.¹⁶

A brief respite from the Highlands, a trip to her birthplace of Glasgow, only increased her feeling of alienation upon her return:

[H]owever my fancy might be delighted with particular spots [in the Highlands], the general aspect of things within the girdle of the Grampians was not congenial to me: And then the wild mountaineers, whose language I did not understand, and to whose character, of consequence, I was a stranger; but . . . I had nothing for it but to return to the place from whence I came, where it was my fate to be planted.¹⁷

The slow trajectory of Grant's narrative, of longing and repulsion giving way to resignedness at her fate, sets her work apart from other tourist accounts such as that of Dorothy Wordsworth, who spent all of two months in the Highlands in 1803 before returning to Grasmere. Grant's ambivalent feelings are also illustrative of the vexed circumstances that brought her to the Highlands in the first place, as her father's army career took him from colonial America to the Scottish Highlands. Grant's father was born in the Highlands, and his family's move to Scotland in 1768, when he took the position as barrack master at Fort Augustus, therefore marks a kind of return for Grant to her ancestral home. Yet the move is also indicative of the nomadic existence of an army officer in an age of imperial expansion, as Grant's father arrived in the Highlands in the train of a military occupation. His position was dependent on the post-Culloden government policy of establishing strategic garrisons to disarm and pacify the Highlands once and for all. Grant's early narrative of life in the Highlands, alternating between exaltation and alienation—all the while expressing a feeling of superiority to those around her—marks the peculiar vicissitudes of the life as a soldier's daughter on the margins of Britain's empire.

In a long letter looking back, Grant describes her own maturation in the Highlands. Marriage and settling down to manage the family farm establishes a new relationship between Grant and the local community that necessitates a new way of seeing the Highlands:

New objects perfectly compatible with my new duties appeared, and I pursued these with proportionate eagerness. The language, the customs, the peculiar tone of sentiment, and manners of the people,—the maxims, traditions, music, and poetry of the country I made my own with all possible expedition. I learnt them in the fields, the garden, and the nursery, in such a manner as rather to promote than interrupt my necessary avocations. And then I spoke of plants, from the fir on the top of Craigellachy, to the house-leek on the cottage wall. What a scene did this open up to me!¹⁸

No longer a vast and remote landscape, Grant's Highland scene is reduced in scale to the intimate space of the garden and the cottage wall. In Grant's revi-

sion, the Highland space ceases to function as landscape alone and instead becomes a community to which she is integrally connected. Yet it is in her descriptions of the Highlands as community that her writing becomes most ethnographic, as experience gives her the whole sight of Highland culture. In the cataloging of the domestic world of household work and child rearing, Grant describes an ideal society built on the intrinsic bonds of sympathy among its members, which are, in turn, illustrative of the primitive state of their society. Summarizing the link between the strength of sympathetic attachments and the state of Highland development, Grant writes in the *Essays*:

I think it appears pretty evident, that the [primitive] state which I have been describing, may be justly termed the reign of the affections. Ambition and avarice have little room to operate, and self-denying habits enable individuals to sacrifice their comfort and interest for those they love, without feeling severe privation, whilst mutual dependence becomes a source of mutual endearment. (1:115)

The "reign of the affections" is both a particular stage in human development and the description of the habit of mind by which the stage is chiefly characterized. Grant's ideas echo Adam Ferguson's on the strength of the "bands" of primitive societies; the powerful bonds of kinship establish a tight-knit community, derived from the necessity of interdependence for continued existence in the harsh world of the Highlands.¹⁹

Grant often remarks on the intensity of Highland kinship ties. For example, Grant recounts the hospitality of a "pale, wan, and woe-begone" widow who invites Grant and her mother to tea one cold and rainy day. Waiting until the fire is set and the tea is on the table, the widow inquires of Grant's mother and whether she and her daughter "were connected with the country." Grant writes:

Now we had just left my father's country, and entered my mother's. She told the good lady her whole genealogy . . . on which the old lady rose with great solemnity, crying, "All the water in the sea cannot wash your blood from mine." This tender embrace was followed by a long dissertation on the Innernaheyle [*sic*] family, &c." (Letters 1:71)

Parents in the Highlands, Grant reports, uniformly dote on their children, and "the old people, treated with unvaried tenderness and veneration, feel no diminution of their consequence, no chill in their affections" (1:56). Moreover, veneration of one's progenitors goes beyond one's immediate kin

to those long dead but still remembered. Grant writes that if she truly were to think “in their way,”

I should love my father not merely as such, but because he was the son of the wise and pious Donald, whose memory the whole parish of Cragnick venerates, and the grandson of the gallant Archibald, who was the tallest man in the district, who could throw the putting stone farther than any Campbell living, and never held a Christmas without a deer of his own killing, four Fingalian greyhounds at his fire-side, and sixteen kinsmen sharing his feast. Shall I not be proud of a father, the son of such fathers, of whose fame he is the living record? *Now, what is my case is every other Highlander's*; for we all contrive to be wonderfully happy in our ancestry. (1:56–57; my emphasis)

This passage neatly demonstrates the increasing complexity of Grant's relation to her Highland world. On the one hand, Grant's description of Highland manners is slightly condescending as she keenly recounts the litany of ancestral “achievements” to her Glasgow friends. On the other hand, Grant, by the end of the passage, offers herself as an example of Highland peculiarities, and the shifting stance of the passage points to the tensions of her identity, as Grant offers both a private glimpse into the everyday life of one Highland farmwife and an ethnographic overview of Highland life in general. Grant wants us to read her life as both unique and typical, as the elements of that life become illustrative of the whole.

Grant's impulse to “ethnographize” her own life is demonstrated in her description of the death of Helen Mackintosh, whom Grant affectionately terms “Moome” or “foster mother.” In this capacity, Mackintosh took care of Grant's children when Grant herself was weighed down with responsibility or, in one particular instance, when a serious illness left her an invalid. Grant, who eulogizes Mackintosh in a poem included in *The Highlanders and Other Poems*, summarizes her character in prose in the *Letters*:

Her personal wants were few, and small indeed; but her exertions, and the resources she found, or made, to preserve independence, and exert beneficence, were astonishing. Our children were the pleasure of her life, and the pride of her heart. They were her theme wherever she went. (3:56–57)

In a previous entry, Grant, dismissing at length what she deems the unnatural and nonsensical theories of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, writes that she shall listen instead “with what delight and reverence . . . to dear Moome's *awe compelling tales*, after all this farrago” (2:277; italics in original). The oral folktales of a Highland foster mother represent for

Grant a welcome alternative to the whims of cosmopolitan fashion and the theorizing of "female philosophers," and Grant here reveals her own ideas as to the proper mode of female discourse. Yet Grant's personal and private elegy to Helen Mackintosh is also clearly ethnographic. In a lengthy footnote to her letter eulogizing Moome, Grant adds:

Moome is an endearing appellation in the Gaelic, to which the English affords no correspondent phrase; it means a person who feels the affection, and performs the duties, of a mother to children not her own. Such was Moome's love to the children of the cottage; and such their gratitude, that our friend was always distinguished by this kindly epithet. (3:55)

Grant's account of Moome's devotion is illustrative of the important role of fosterage in the Highland community, but the account also serves to add evidence to Grant's thesis concerning the primitive "reign of the affections." As the footnote itself attests, Grant's eulogy is occasion to pay tribute to a dear loved one, but it is also a demonstration of her "knowingness," her ability to translate a culture that otherwise would be totally inaccessible to her reader.²⁰

The *Letters* narrate a continual increase in Grant's store of local knowledge, as she maps her own local Highland geography. She learns that "town" always refers to Glasgow in the West Highlands, that when locals speak of "countries," they mean "an inhabited track, divided by rocks, mountains and narrow passes, from the adjacent countries, and inhabited by a particular clan," and that people prefer the unpaved paths they had used for generations rather than the paved roads built for the military. In a 1793 letter, however, written twenty years after her arrival in the Highlands, Grant can still poke gentle fun at the credulity of her dairy maid, who reports that one of the cows had foretold to her a bleak harvest. "Could you have believed," Grant writes to a Glasgow friend, "that there existed manners and opinions so primitive as those which are still preserved in the parish of Laggan?" (2:265–66). Such a letter reminds us that Grant, when speaking to a metropolitan audience, can always do so from a position of superiority, from outside the Highlands, even as she describes them as *her* mountains and its inhabitants as *her* people.

Grant herself sometimes remarks on the tensions and contradictions of her position, often chafing at the constraints put upon her as a woman in Highland society. Though Grant praises, in broad terms, the close familial bonds of Highland patriarchy, she also complains of the constant demands that such a system places on women. Because she has lived like a "rusticated Highland matron" for so long, she writes, she is able to understand the gendered division of labor in the Highlands in a way that no tourist ever could.

The heavy workload demanded of women does not allow for the leisurely contemplation and reflection to which Grant had been accustomed before her marriage. She describes her frustration with her husband, whose labor allows for some “free time” in the late morning and who doesn’t seem to understand the demands that the household makes of her. In its cataloging of domestic chores and its expression of resentment of her fate, Grant’s account echoes other women’s diaristic accounts of their workday, but Grant’s description of the life allotted to her as a woman is complicated by her impulse to frame her descriptions as ethnographic field notes. In the same letter, for example, Grant argues that her fate is illustrative of the fate of all Highland women:

You Lowlanders have no idea of the complicated nature of Highland farming, and of the odd customs which prevail here. Formerly, from the wild and warlike nature of the men, and their haughty indolence, they thought no rural employment compatible with their dignity, unless, indeed, the plow. . . . This naturally extended the women’s province both of labour and management. The care of the cattle was peculiarly theirs. Their manner of life, in fact, wanted nothing but the shades of the palm, the olives, the vines, and the fervid sun of the East, to resemble the patriarchal one. . . . The effect, you know, often continues when the cause has ceased; the men are now civilized in comparison to what they were, yet the custom of leaving the weight of every thing on the more helpless sex continues. (2:123–24)

The individuated diaristic vision of the “I” shifts to the de-centered vision of the ethnographer, as Grant adopts a familiar trope of writing on the Highlands: comparing Highland society with other “primitive” societies of distant times or distant climes. In doing so Grant situates the critique of her own burdens as a farmer’s wife within a discourse that describes the universal condition of all women within patriarchal primitive societies. Yet the shift from diaristic to ethnographic mode is once again turned back on itself as Grant suggests that the selfsame patriarchal system, of which she is a subject, gives her a degree of power over the management of her home that women in “polished” society do not have:

[The custom of leaving the weight of everything on the more helpless sex] has produced this one good effect, that they are from this habit less helpless and dependent. The men think they preserve dignity from this mode of management; the women find a degree of power or consequence in having such an extensive department, which they would not willingly exchange for inglorious ease. (2:124–25)

Still, Highland life places alternative constraints on women that are not so easily overcome, and Grant expresses particular frustration that her duties do not allow the time she needs to reflect, to contemplate, and to write about that life. In a Christmas entry, Grant writes of the importance of yearly Highland festivals in giving her one of the few occasions she has to write at leisure, yet the cramped living quarters of the farm and the priority of her role as wife and mother require her to use the fireless nursery as her writing space. Describing the writing environment for her first book, which she calls her "secret work," Grant complains:

[T]he children surround me continually.—They treat me as ill as music did Johnson; interrupt my ideas and give me none in their place, when in full assembly in this bitter weather.—It is for my own sake I regret my interruption; writing at ease and leisure would help to restore me to myself again.²¹

The domestic space, which Grant idealizes as a space that allows the fullest expression of the "reign of the affections," becomes in this passage a symbol of incessant distraction and the denial of an avocation that has grown increasingly important to her. Highland domestic life largely precludes the possibility of a female writing from *within* the Highlands.

Yet it is in the latter half of the *Letters* that Grant stakes her claim as a writer and as an authority on the Highlands based on her direct experience. Grant's developing avocation as a translator of Highland literature and culture brings into focus her liminal position as one who knows the Highlands and can report on them for her English-speaking audience but who does so with the local knowledge of a native. In addition to a lengthy dissertation on the authenticity of the poems of Ossian (first published in *The Highlanders and Other Poems* but appended to the sixth edition of the *Letters*), Grant includes her own translation of Gaelic poetry in her *Letters*. While she describes the work as particularly difficult, her growing confidence at translating—or "transfusing," as she terms it—Gaelic literature would provide a foundation for her later claims to speak authoritatively on Highland culture. In one letter, she includes a translation of a Gaelic ballad describing a mother's grief after losing her child. After the translation, Grant adds, "I have preserved, as far as possible, the simplicity of the original; but its tenderness, the solemn sadness that runs through it, its pathetic beauties, I am sensible I have not reached. I have left out many verses" (2:172). Grant describes, as did Macpherson, the difficulties of translating the true sense of Gaelic expression for outsiders, yet the intimate scale of her translations contrasts with the epic scale of Macpherson's as Grant provides a glimpse into an alternative domain of the Gaelic-speaking world.

Nothing better illustrates the difficulties and contradictions of Grant's relation to that world than her attempts to raise her own children as Gaelic speakers. There are entries in the *Letters* where Grant can barely contain her delight in plans to educate her children in Gaelic:

You cannot think what a source of pleasure my little acquaintance with that emphatic and original language has afforded me. I am determined my children shall all drink "from the pure wells of Celtic undefiled." They shall taste the animated and energetic conversations of the natives; and an early acquaintance with the poetry of nature shall guard them against false taste and affectation. (2:94)

Grant's aversion to "false taste and affectation" reflects Rousseauian pedagogical thinking: To raise virtuous children, one must educate them in the ways of artlessness and simplicity and, if at all possible, in a rustic setting. Grant, however, also suggests that the opposition between virtuous rusticity and corrupted cosmopolitanism is a linguistic one: "I never desire to hear an English word out of [my children's] mouths till they are four or five years old. How I should delight in grafting elegant sentiments and just notions on simple manners and primitive ideas!" (2:94). In wanting to educate her children in Gaelic *before* they learn English, Grant's linguistic program constitutes a reversal of the large-scale efforts of groups like the SSPCK to "civilize" the Highlands by replacing Gaelic with English. In Grant's program, her children would grow up as "native" Highlanders. Acculturating from a position within the Highlands, Grant's children would thus avoid the bifurcations of her own identity. They would become more "Highland" than she ever could.²²

THE LOCATION OF BELONGING

With the 1803 death of her husband and in straitened circumstances, Grant's thirty-year stay in the Highlands ended, and the *Letters* ends with her return journey south, to Glasgow. Yet the entries that constitute the end of her "visit" to the Highlands, and her "return" to Glasgow, reveal how much Grant wished it otherwise and how much she considered the Highlands to be her true home. Taking a long look back she reflects:

We made a little world to ourselves, where ease, simplicity, and a kind of negative elegance, gave an undefinable charm to our cottage. This made people of genuine feeling and uncultured taste like it, without being able to

tell why. Sweet cottage! must I leave it? (3:142)

From the point in her narrative when she actually departs the Highlands she begins immediately to transform their meaning: from an actual place of idyllic habitation to a nostalgic evocation of a particular time in her life when she had lived more authentically than ever before. The farther Grant moves away from the Highlands, both in time and space, the more nostalgic she becomes, and the more critical she is of her present environment. Though Grant would later establish herself among the literary circles of Edinburgh in the 1820s, her last letters describe a feeling of dislocation and nostalgia more expressive of exile than of return. Grant's narrative of the "return journey" to the Glasgow of her birth is attended by increasing and perhaps unexpected alienation of self from surroundings. In this, Grant's travelogue inverts the plot of "journey and return" that critics have argued reinforces the distance between subject and native in travel writing. In one of her last letters, she again evokes the memory of her Highland cottage, only more insistently than before:

What an asylum, what a comfort, has that dwelling been to many others, besides the family that inhabited it! There indeed social life, and social love, seemed the warmer for being compressed within narrow bounds. There I lived and moved, and had a being, in some degree useful and interesting to others. Hereafter I shall indeed exist; but my highest hope must be to spend "Quiet, tho' sad, the remnant of my days," far, far from my old haunts, my old habits, and my old associates. (3:198–99)

Here Grant, recalling Eve's lament in *Paradise Lost* as she is cast out of Eden, describes the powerful memory effect of the Highlands: They become a nostalgic evocation of an ideal domesticity in simple confines. Yet Grant's feelings of dislocation strangely mirror descriptions of her early life in the Highlands.

In one of her *Essays*, Grant seems to summarize the troubled condition of her own identity when she describes the lamentable character of the exiled Highlander who, because of economic duress or personal ambition, leaves behind the Highlands to enter the metropolis. "[A] highlander," she writes, "driven prematurely into the ranks of polished society . . . ceases to be a favourable specimen of the mountain race" (2:132). He becomes a "half-informed mountaineer," acquiring the worst "vices" of civil society while losing all the "virtues" of the primitive world he left behind. Incapable either of returning to the Highlands or of fully assimilating into civil society, he instead "descends among the dregs of the people,—acquires, with their vulgar

language, their low and narrow ideas,—and, shrinking in the ungenial clime of plebian grossness, assumes an entire new character” (2:133). The exiled Highlander is an inauthentic “mimic man,” a “shadow” of his former self, who lives in between two worlds and therefore lives a life of anomie. In other instances, however, Grant seems to privilege, and to claim for herself, the same fluidity of identity that she criticizes here. Later in the same chapter, she summarizes her ideal of a mountain chief as one who retains his native character even after living for a time among polished society. Grant writes that only one who has lived *outside* the Highlands can judge its merits: “One must have lived *in* and *out* of polished society, to know how much the mind shrinks and diminishes, under the influence of endless wants and necessary nothings” (2:159). Furthermore, she adds with some degree of self-congratulation, “It is the high privilege and distinction of the strong superior mind, to accommodate itself with ease to the varieties of exterior circumstances” (2:160).

Accommodation and adaptation in response to differing cultural contexts is the mark of a superior mind, and could be said to characterize Grant’s view of herself in her Highland letters. As a woman who lived much of her life within a transperipheral network established by her father’s military career—and who defined herself as “British” while living in North America before she defined herself as “Scottish” or “Highland” back “home” in Britain—Grant constantly seeks to work out the contradictions in her own identity. Her relation to the Highlands remains unsettled and indeterminate, as her writings continually explore the contingencies that shape a feeling of belonging. By staking out a position as neither one thing nor the other, Grant fashions an identity that constantly seeks to question its own certainty.

THE HIGHLAND WIDOW

Grant’s account of her life in the Highlands, and her description of rural comfort, is often punctuated by moments of loss and great sadness. In one particularly poignant letter, Grant describes the peculiar grief that comes after losing her youngest child only a few months after losing her oldest. Later, after the death of her husband and writing far from her home in the Highlands, Grant describes to a friend the insistent pull of sad remembrance:

[A]midst all this melancholy leisure, my mind has been so engrossed by intense anxiety for the absent, and reflections of the past, and melancholy

anticipations of the future, that, except mere bills of health and necessary business, I have written to no creature but yourself. (*Letters* 3:166)

If expression of grief forms a small but important aspect of Grant's *Letters*, "intense anxiety for the absent, and reflections of the past" represents the overarching sentiment of Queen Victoria's account of the Highlands. The ceaseless memorialization of dear departed loved ones—particularly the Prince Consort, who died in 1861—permeate Victoria's journal extracts of her visits to the Highlands. By placing a day-to-day account of her life before the public, Victoria provided a testament to her grief while inserting her image into the drawing rooms of the nation. Victoria's career as a published author, like Grant's, began after the death of her husband, but if Grant's entry into the profession of letters was prompted by the exigency of supporting a family of eight on a widow's pension, Victoria's was prompted by the insistent demand that she continue to present herself to her public as Britain's monarch.²³

Victoria published her first collection of Highland journal excerpts in 1868, at a time of intense and unprecedented condemnation of her reign and increasing republicanism. Victoria's alarming reclusiveness after the death of Albert, and her increasingly adamant refusal to make public appearances, became the subject of much criticism of her reign in the press. For example, *Punch's* cartoon in September 1865 depicts the queen as Hermione on a pedestal, while Britannia stands in the wings beckoning, "'Tis time! Descend; be stone no more!" A caption beneath states that the "cartoon breathes a loyal wish that her Majesty would again resume her public duties." Victoria's absence from the royal stage was also linked to the increasing scrutiny on the nature of her relationship with John Brown, who frequently appeared by her side. Rumor and the hint of scandal began to fill the representational void left by the absence of Victoria's person in public life. She was proclaimed "Mrs. Brown," or "the Empress Brown," and a Swiss newspaper even reported in 1866 that the queen had secretly married Brown and was pregnant with his child. The attacks reached their zenith in Britain upon the publication of a cartoon in August 1867, only a few months before the publication of Victoria's first collection of journal extracts, in the short-lived journal *The Tomahawk*. The cartoon showed a kilted Brown confidently leaning against a vacant throne while the British lion looked on in the foreground.

The scandal and derision surrounding Victoria's relationship with John Brown brought into high relief the tensions of her reign and the vexed status of female sovereignty in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the satirical images of Brown suggested that he had usurped the proper authority of the queen by placing himself in the position of her husband—and therefore

master. On the other hand, these images only highlighted the paradox of the reign of Victoria, who was entitled by birth to rule the nation but limited by gender to a subordinate role behind a man.²⁴ The significance of the John Brown scandal in revealing nineteenth-century assumptions about gender and power and the contradictions of Victoria's rule have been the subject of much critical analysis, but this work has paid little attention to the ways in which the John Brown controversy reveals continuing contestations surrounding the idea of "Britain" in the nineteenth century. If the replacement of the queen with Brown on the throne of Britain enacts, in the English press, a reversal of the proper relationship between sovereign and servant, it also enacts a reversal of the "proper" relationship between England and Scotland within Great Britain. As the fetishization of the bekilted and bared-legged image of Brown in these cartoons attest, the Scottish usurpation of the royal prerogative is deemed simultaneously menacing and ridiculous.²⁵ The John Brown scandal brings to the surface not only tensions in Victorian assumptions about gender but long-standing national and ethnic fractures within Britain.

After the success of *More Leaves*, Victoria herself wrote, "I have always been fully aware of what I was doing—and know perfectly well what my people like and appreciate" (quoted in Homans 237). That Victoria published her Highland journals at the height of the scandal, and adamantly refused to absent Brown from her place in public appearances, suggests Victoria's active engagement in the contestation of her own image of the monarch and the meaning of the nation as she attempts to fill in the representational void and to consolidate an image of her reign on her own terms.²⁶ In her own definitive study of representations of Victoria, Margaret Homans acknowledges that the extent to which Victoria participated in the creation of her image is difficult to surmise. Homans, however, "emphasizes the part played by Victoria-as-author in the joint cultural production of Victoria . . . by paying close attention to the texts she produced and authorised and to the acts and agencies by which they were produced and were seen to be produced" (*Royal Representations* xxxv–xxxvi).

Victoria popularized the Highlands as never before, serving up what was by 1868 a familiar image of the Highlands as an ideal site of rural simplicity and close familial ties. Yet Victoria also "monarchizes" this image: The Highlands become the ideal site of *royal* rural simplicity and close familial ties. It is the image of "Bertie" and friends deer stalking in kilts, of tossing the caber and bagpipes after dinner, of tartan wallpaper and thistles embroidered on all the carpets. It is the image associated with the work of Victoria's favorite landscape artists, Sir Edwin Landseer and Carl Haag, and encapsulated by the term "Balmorality," which continues to inform the image of the British

monarchy even today. More than this, however, the *Leaves* reveals not only the kind of woman and the kind of monarch Victoria wished to show before her public, but also the kind of *Briton*. Representing herself as a simple, plainspoken woman who grieves over the loss of her husband while spending quiet evenings at home working her spinning wheel and surrounded by her devoted male Highland favorites, Victoria casts herself in the role of a character of her favorite author, Walter Scott. In her own eyes, Britain's first imperial ruler is the "The Highland Widow."

BRITAIN'S CHIEFTAINNESS

Even more so than Grant's, Victoria's earliest impressions of the Highlands are those of an awestruck and ignorant tourist who has gone there in search of picturesque landscapes to view and to sketch. Like many of the tourists who had come before her on what were by the 1840s well-worn paths in the Highlands, Victoria is simply overwhelmed by the sublimity of the Highland landscape.²⁷ The description of an excursion near Blair Castle during an early visit to the Highlands in 1844 is typical:

The moment you step out of the house you see those splendid hills all round. We went to the left . . . along a steep winding path overhanging the rapid stream. These Scotch streams, full of stones, and clear as glass, are most beautiful; the peeps between the trees, the depths of the shadows, the mossy stones, mixed with slate, &c., which cover the banks, are lovely; at every turn you have a picture. . . . We walked on, to a cornfield where a number of women were cutting and reaping the oats ("shearing" as they call it in Scotland), with a splendid view of the hills before us, so rural and romantic, so unlike our daily Windsor walk (delightful as that is), and this change does such good: as Albert observes, it refreshes one for a long time. This mixture of great wildness and art is perfection.²⁸

One can criticize Victoria's descriptive powers—the limits of which seem manifest in her frequent admission that she is unable "to do justice to the scene" in her writing—yet she is repeating a familiar trope of Highland travelogues: the inability to describe a sublime landscape whose effect upon the imagination is simply beyond words.

Also like Grant's, Victoria's impression of the Highlands is filtered through a set of powerful literary associations, but by the 1840s the dominant literary frame by which to view the Highland landscape had shifted from Ossian to the Waverley Novels. As the *Illustrated London News* reported

on Victoria's first visit to Scotland, she expressed a particular desire to visit "all the scenes of Sir Walter Scott's novels" (quoted in Millar 145). As much as Grant's early descriptions of the Highland landscape makes frequent reference to Macpherson's work, Victoria's are filled with reverential allusion to Scott.²⁹

Victoria's account of her happy family life in the Highlands, however, differs from Grant's in that the loss of her husband frames the idyllic picture of the narrative proper. The inscription of the *Leaves*, "To the dear memory of him who made the life of the writer bright and happy," reminds Victoria's readers that all the images contained within are tinged with tragedy and grief. Yet the image that she draws in her narrative is of a woman perfectly contented and suited to play the recognizably middle-class roles prescribed for her, of wife and mother. The typicality of Victoria's image of her life in the Highlands, many critics have suggested, is crucial to ways in which she negotiated the paradoxes of her reign.³⁰ Alison Booth, for example, has shown that nineteenth-century biographical accounts construct Victoria as a "true middle-class heroine" who meets a standard of "domestic virtue, accomplishments, and learning. . . . [T]he Queen's main achievement is that *in spite of sovereignty* she is just like an ordinary good woman" (72; emphasis in original). By presenting herself as a woman who resides exclusively within the private domestic domain, Victoria consolidates her public position as monarch by emphasizing her subordinate relationship to her husband. In her Highland journals, so the argument follows, Victoria completely subsumes her role as sovereign, eliding all reference to her prerogatives as head of state. Instead, she presents a woman whose only desire is to make her husband and family happy. Homans emphasizes that this image of Victoria as middle-class housewife is at heart a pose and that, furthermore, both Victoria and her reviewers recognized this at the time. In Victoria's own account of her life, Homans summarizes, she "pretends not to be the queen" (135).

A careful reading of the *Leaves*, however, suggests that it is not the case that Victoria simply excludes all reference to her sovereignty. Instead, Victoria shapes an alternative image of her sovereignty in her journals than the one appearing in the London papers and the one prescribed for her in official ceremonies in England. Throughout her account, Victoria is continually conscious of her own status as the monarch. The *Leaves* may not provide a complete accounting of the minutiae of Victoria's official duties, but they do depict a queen who is keenly aware of both the symbolic and historical implications of her experiences. This awareness is reflected in her frequent remarking of the unprecedented ground she travels in the Highlands. For example, in a recounting of an excursion to Fingal's Cave, Victoria describes the splendid effect of the cave's entrance, which appeared "like some great

entrance into a vaulted hall," but she also adds that her visit "was the first time the British standard, with a Queen of Great Britain, and her husband and children, had ever entered Fingal's cave, and the men gave three cheers which sounded very impressive there" (*Leaves* 85). Victoria's account of her visit to Fingal's Cave is both typically touristic yet also indicative of Victoria's own awareness of the significance of presenting her royal person to her subjects and of the history-making import of her actions. In this, the *Leaves* enacts the "inverted ocular relationship" that Takashi Fujitani has identified as the central component of royal procession.³¹ The visit to Fingal's Cave is both a single stop on Victoria's personal journey through the Highlands and a symbolic moment when the sovereign sees, but also is seen by, her subjects.

Throughout her account, Victoria is conscious of her royalty, her "queenliness," and this awareness, instead of representing an unwelcome intrusion into her private Highland sanctuary, becomes inscribed into her daily life. For example, Victoria narrates events at Balmoral upon hearing the news of the fall of Sevastopol during the Crimean War in September 1855, just a few days after she and her family had moved into the newly remodeled residence.³² After receiving a flurry of after-dinner congratulatory telegrams from her ministers and generals, Victoria goes up to the second floor window of her new home to witness the lighting of a bonfire atop a cairn built on a nearby hill. From her vantage point Victoria describes the effect of the blazing fire as the whole village comes out to witness it. Some dance and others fire off guns, while the queen's piper plays unceasingly. After forty-five minutes, she writes:

Albert came down and said the scene had been wild and excited beyond everything. The people had been drinking healths in whisky, and were in real ecstasy. The whole house seemed in a wonderful state of excitement. The boys were with difficulty awakened, and when at last this was the case, they begged leave to go to the top of the cairn. . . . [J]ust as I was undressing, all the people came down under the windows. The pipes playing, the people singing, firing off guns, and cheering—first for me, then for Albert, the Emperor of the French, and "the downfall of Sevastopol." (152–53)

Victoria's sovereignty is not at issue in this passage. Instead, her private life and public role can be said to merge and overlap. As Cynthia Huff writes of Victoria's diaries in general, the "person of the Queen is neither distinctly public or private, covert or revealed, but rather both at once, an amalgam of personal and private interests" (1). Victoria is wife and mother *and* the sovereign of her people simultaneously. Building the cairn represents a public celebration of national achievements, in which Victoria figures as

the embodiment of British glory and greatness. At the same time, building a cairn is deemed a uniquely “Highland” celebration of the good fortune of the de facto leader of the local community.³³ The scene that Victoria describes attests to the “Highlandizing” of her royal image; the scene also points to the ways in which Victoria reimagines the relationship between the sovereign and her subjects, placing that relationship on a much more intimate footing than her ministers and the press expected of her. As Victoria, undressing, peers down from the second floor of Balmoral, she abandons the distance and formality of her ceremonial presence. Victoria remains queen in the Highlands, but she is made more immanent in the life of the community, and the intimate relationship between sovereign and the people established in the *Leaves* echoes the image of monarch-as-chieftain that Scott performed in the Celtification of George IV during his visit to Edinburgh in 1822. Victoria resolves one of the paradoxes of her reign by evoking the intimate and unmediated bond between ruler and ruled associated with Highland clan structure. Victoria is more than “mother to her people,” a relationship many have argued is central to Victoria’s image as queen. As absolute sovereign of her intimate and close-knit domain in the Highlands, Victoria is “chieftainess.”³⁴

THE LANDSCAPE OF HISTORY

Victoria’s awareness of her own sovereignty, and the realization that her private actions in the Highlands are part of a public royal history, form a key component of the descriptions in *More Leaves*, published sixteen years after her first work, which recounts, as Victoria describes it, her widowed life in the Highlands. Rather than forging new paths in the Highlands, Victoria is content in *More Leaves* to retrace the journeys she made with Albert, and this remembrance of the past and a constant looking backward to happier times set the general tone of the work. Yet along with the nostalgia comes a keener sense of the nation’s history and her own position within it. Such moments of historical consciousness contradict the view of some critics who, in addition to those who suggest Victoria omits in her writing all reference to her public role, argue that she leaves out history altogether. Trevor R. Pringle, for example, writes that Victoria promulgated a “Victorian Highland myth,” which was reflected in her patronage of landscape artists such as Landseer. Endlessly reproduced pastoral scenes of royal hunting and of a contented queen and consort surrounded by family and loyal servants, all dressed in kilts or bonnets, Pringle argues, point to the emergence of a Highland myth, in which the contingent and the historical are lost in an image of tranquil

natural order. For Pringle, "the historical" refers to the forces of economic upheaval in the Highlands "of Highland clearances, agrarian revolution, political domination, colonisation, eviction and emigration," which Victoria's picturesque descriptions elide (151, 153).

Victoria's descriptions, however, do not simply "de-historicize" the Highlands. Rather, through her writing Victoria constructs her own understanding of this past to suit the demands of her self-representation as Britain's monarch. On a visit to Ossian's Cave, for example, Victoria's carriage is stopped by a "very respectable stout-looking old Highlander." This man, Victoria writes,

[s]tepped up to the carriage with a small silver quaich, out of which he said Prince Charles had drunk, and also my dearest Albert in 1847, and begged that I would do the same. A table, covered with a cloth and with a bottle on it, was on the other side of the road. I felt I could hardly refuse, and therefore tasted some whisky out of it, which delighted the people who were standing around. (*More Leaves* 264)

This passage instances a moment of Fujitani's "inverted ocular relationship," as the "people" become subject to their monarch's gaze and she to theirs; the passage also describes a moment when the public past of the nation and the "private" past of Victoria again overlap and merge. By drinking the cup of whisky, Victoria memorializes both her departed husband and the once rival claimant to the throne she now occupies. Victoria here makes no remark on the significance of drinking from a cup once shared by Prince Charles, who, of course, had led a Highland army to remove her Hanoverian ancestors from the throne. Yet in other scenes, Victoria shows that she is well aware not only of the troubled history of the crown in the Highlands but of her own connection to that history. For example, on a visit to Loch Shield, beside which sits a statue commemorating the landing of Prince Charles, Victoria is swept up in the romance of his story: "What a scene it must have been in 1745! And here was *I*, the descendant of the Stuarts and of the very king whom Prince Charles sought to overthrow, sitting and walking about quite privately and peaceably" (*More Leaves* 271). Victoria shows an awareness of the ironic twists of history, which brought her to Loch Shield as queen. She also inscribes herself within that history, assigning for herself the role of the embodiment of the final reconciliation between Jacobite and Hanoverian. In doing so, Victoria lays claim to the Stuart line more directly than any British monarch before.

Victoria makes this point even more emphatically on a visit to the estate of Cameron of Lochiel near Loch Arkaig, where she is confronted with the

personal implications of the Jacobite past. Reminded that her host's great-grand-uncle had been instrumental in Charles's attempt to dethrone her own great-grandfather, George II, Victoria's reaction is to embrace this history:

Yes; and *I* feel a sort of reverence in going over these scenes in this most beautiful country, which I am proud to call my own, where there was such devoted loyalty to the family of my ancestors—for Stuart blood is in my veins, and I am now their representative, and the people are as devoted and loyal to me as they were to that unhappy race. (*More Leaves* 255)

As Scott had proclaimed during George IV's visit, blood ties grant to Victoria a legitimacy based on kinship. In proclaiming herself heir to both Prince Charles and George II, Victoria takes possession of Jacobite history while asserting her sovereignty over the whole of Scotland and the Highlands. The Highlands are *her* home, its history is *her* history, and its people are *her* people. Like the sojourn of Scott's bekilted George IV, Victoria's stay becomes not a "visit" but a "return."

It is the case that Victoria's account contains no references to the upheavals in Highland society. This is so even though Victoria's visits to the Highlands were contemporaneous with some of the most dramatic events associated with the history of Highland land agitation, such as the 1880s Crofters' War events of which Victoria probably was aware. Commentators of the time and after have criticized her seeming willful ignorance of the plight of her "beloved" Highlanders.³⁵ It cannot be said, however, that Victoria's account constitutes a "privation" of Highland history. Instead, her writing points to the heterogeneity of national or regional histories, as she engages with a particular narrative of the Highland past, molding and shaping it to fit her own idea of the prerogatives of her sovereignty. That this history may seem to contest alternative histories of the Highlands is precisely the point, as Victoria puts to use a meaning of the past that serves her own agenda.

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HIGHLANDS

By staking her claim to the Highlands, Victoria also proclaims herself a Highlander. In her repeated acts of memorialization—of stamping every road, stream, and rock with the memory of her life with Albert—Victoria maps out a particular Highland geography that is doubly associative of a public and a private past. The associative power of the Highlands landscape—its

ability to evoke memories of Victoria's life with Albert and happier times at every turn—works initially as a destructive force, as recounted in the early parts of *More Leaves*. Describing a visit to the Duke of Buccleuch's estate in Dumfriesshire in 1867, she writes:

[T]he Duchess showed us to our rooms upstairs. I had three that were very comfortable . . . a sitting room, dressing-room, and . . . the bedroom, simple, with pretty chintz, but very elegant, nice and comfortable. The children were close at hand. But the feeling of loneliness when I saw no room for my darling, and felt I was indeed alone and a widow, overcame me very sadly! It was the first time I had gone this way on a visit (like as in former times), and I have thought so much of all dearest Albert would have done and said, and how he would have wandered about everywhere, admired everything, looked at everything—and now! Oh! must it ever, ever be so? (*More Leaves* 74–75)

Simple description resolves into a rush of memory, bringing an unexpected string of associations and an overpowering feeling of loss. But as Victoria's narrative progresses, as she struggles to come to terms with her grief after the death of Albert, she finds restoration in the Highlands, a world in which she increasingly inscribes herself.

Rather than presenting a "static expressionless image" of an "impassive but maternal widow," as some critics have characterized her writing (Homans and Munich 3), Victoria's later journal extracts instead provide a narrative of personal and psychological transformation. The more Victoria returns to the Highlands, the more she feels at home and the more she feels she belongs there, even establishing a relatively smaller residence in a shiel, or lodge, on the Balmoral estate that she herself christens "the first widow's house." Like Grant's, Victoria's writing narrates a process of gradual acculturation, and, like Grant, long residence in the Highlands gives to Victoria the authority to speak on their behalf, to represent them to her readers.

Yet the more Victoria inscribes herself into her community, the more she accumulates the local knowledge to assume the stance of an ethnographer in her writing. This process is most evident in the overall frame of the narrative in *More Leaves*, in which the chronology of day-to-day excursions is punctuated by sections with titles such as "Juicing the Sheep," "A Highland Funeral," and "A Highland 'Kirstin' (Christening)," in which Victoria seeks to present ethnographic vignettes on Highland culture. At the same time, the narrative of these sections reveals the extent to which Victoria feels herself a part of the culture she observes. For example, Victoria's description of a Highland funeral recounts the scene of events attending the funeral of John Brown's father in October 1875:

At twenty minutes to twelve drove with Beatrice and Janie Ely to *Micras*. As we drove up . . . we met Dr. Robertson, and all along the house were numbers of people—Brown told me afterwards he thought above a hundred. All my keepers, Mitchell the blacksmith (from *Clachanturn*), Symon, Grant, Brown's five uncles, Leys, Thomson (postmaster), and the forester, people below *Micras* and in *Aberarder*, and my people; Heale, Löhlein . . . Cowley, Jarrett, Ross and Collins (sergeant footman), Brown, and his four brothers, including Donald (who only arrived last night and went to Bush, his brother William's farm), took us to the kitchen where was poor dear old Mrs. Brown sitting near the fire and much upset, but still calm and dignified. . . . (*More Leaves* 319–20)

Victoria goes on to describe the image of the funeral procession winding down to the kirk in the rain, and she is careful to maintain a distanced vantage point from which to observe typical Highland death rites: "We took some whisky water and cheese, according to the universal Highland custom" (321). Yet Victoria's account also makes clear how much she is regarded as part of the community. Not only does she know most of the people in attendance (many of whom work for her), there is no reference in the passage to Victoria as the queen. Instead she herself describes going back to the house after the funeral "to sooth and comfort dear old Mrs. Brown," giving her a "mourning brooch with a little bit of her husband's hair which had been cut off yesterday" (321). More than a conventional tableau of a sympathetic sovereign paying respects to an anonymous and grateful subject, the scene Victoria paints is of one Highland widow offering comfort to another, in the form of a relic of the dead—a form she herself found most comforting. Victoria ends her account of the funeral, watching through her glasses as the coffin is carried into the kirk, concluding, "I was grieved I could not be in the kirkyard" (321). Victoria keeps her distance but also keenly desires to enter the kirk, to be initiated into the community she lovingly describes.

More than encouraging a sympathetic bond with Highland locals, Victoria's cumulative experience of knowing and sharing in their lives promotes an identification with them. Describing her increasing reliance on her closest male Highland servants, Victoria is drawn into their lives beyond the informal court world of Balmoral. This intimacy is dramatically illustrated in a section of *More Leaves* entitled "The Spate," when Victoria actively shares in the concerns of the community after a child goes missing. Victoria describes her reaction at first hearing the news:

[John] Brown came in soon after four o'clock, saying he had been down at

the waterside, for a child had fallen into the water, and the whole district was out to try and recover it—but it must be drowned long before this time. I was dreadfully shocked. It was the child of a man named Rattray, who lives at *Cairn-na-Craig*, just above where the new wool merchant has built a house, and quite close to the keeper Abercrombie's house, not far from *Monaltrie Farmhouse* in the street. (*More Leaves* 156)

Victoria reveals her own familiarity with her community and her concern for the missing child's family. Moreover, upon hearing the news, she sets out to investigate the matter for herself:

[S]et off in the wagonette with Beatrice and Janie Ely, and drove along the north side of the river. We stopped a little way beyond *Tynebaich*, and saw the people wandering along the riverside. Two women told us that two children had fallen in (how terrible!), and that one "had been gotten—the little een (as the people pronounce "one"), but not the eldest. They were searching everywhere. (*More Leaves* 156–57)

Victoria narrates the three-day saga of the search for the missing child until, sadly, its body is found down river. Throughout this narrative, Victoria expresses her concern and sympathy for the "poor father and mother," while showing her particular interest in the welfare of other families: She describes driving to the house of William, John Brown's brother, to "warn" his wife "never to let dear little Albert [their son] run about alone, or near to the burn, of the danger of which she was quite aware" (158). (Victoria had witnessed Albert's christening only three years before, presenting the family with a silver mug.)

When describing the scene of the dead child lying in the parlor of his family's house, Victoria again positions herself as an outside observer, narrating the scene, yet it is clear that she also sees herself as a welcome, fellow member of the community simply coming to pay her own respects to the family. She writes:

Brown went in first, and was received by the old grandmother; and then we went in, and on the table in the kitchen covered with a sheet, which they lifted up, lay the poor sweet innocent "bairnie," only three years old, a fine plump child, and looking just as though it slept, with quite a pink colour, and very little scratched, in its last clothes—with its little hands joined—a most touching sight. I let Beatrice see it, and was glad she should see death for the first time in so touching and pleasing a form. (159)

That Victoria allows her daughter to see the body is in keeping with what some have described as her excessive morbidity, yet the episode of the dead child also reveals how Victoria, by 1872, had been able to overcome much of the anguish over her own great loss.

More Leaves shows a Victoria who, the longer she stays in the Highlands, the more she constructs her own identity as “Highland.” Not only does she learn to partake of haggis and drink whisky (often mixed with her tea), she often adopts a “Highland dress” of her own design—shawl of Stewart tartan and bonnet—and she dresses her children almost exclusively in tartan and kilts while they are in the Highlands. She also describes some attempts at familiarizing herself with Gaelic, often acting as a limited “translator” of Gaelic words and phrases in *More Leaves*. Yet the descriptions of Highlanders closest to Victoria reveal the tensions between the desire to inscribe herself within the indigenous community and the desire to maintain the distanced stance of an ethnographer. Although she often describes her deep admiration for the individual character of the Highland men who attend her, her summary of their personalities is invariably followed by a generalized commentary as to the qualities that mark the Highland “race” in general. Highlanders are uniformly described as “independent,” “straight-forward,” “simple-minded,” “kind-hearted,” “disinterested,” and, above all, “obliging” and “loyal.”³⁶ The reduction of individual behavior to a collection of essentialized race traits is part of Victoria’s account even of individuals she has known for many years and whom she calls “friend.” Describing after his death the character of the Reverend Norman Macleod, Presbyterian minister and one of her closest intimates, Victoria writes:

A friend of mine told me that if we were in great trouble, or sorrow, or anxiety, Dr. Norman Macleod was the person she would wish to go to! And so it was! One felt one’s troubles, weaknesses, and sorrows would all be lovingly listened to, sympathised with, and entered into. (*More Leaves* 235)

In the same passage, she quotes an earlier conversation with Macleod’s brother in which she had commented:

He (Norman) was a complete type in its noblest sense of a Highlander and a Celt, which, as Mr. Donald Macleod and I both observed, was peculiarly sympathetic, attaching, and attractive. I said that since my great sorrow in 1861, I had found no natures so sympathetic and so soothing as those of Highlanders. . . . (*More Leaves* 236)

Victoria can eulogize the man who helped her to overcome her profound

grief while reducing him to the level of illustration, of a particular example that demonstrates a general quality of his "kind."

This reading of Highlanders as both individual and as type is most striking in her descriptions of her closest male companion after Albert's death, John Brown. Sidestepping the question of the level of intimacy of their relationship, Victoria's own published descriptions of him reveal a fascination with, and attraction to, the man she views as alluringly exotic and reassuringly familiar and comforting. One feels Brown's presence in almost every passage of *More Leaves*, which Victoria dedicates to his memory, as she dedicated the first *Leaves* to Albert. Brown is always close to Victoria's person, always ready to perform any service that she desires, from helping her pony over treacherous terrain to scaring off reporters daring to intrude into her private sanctuary. Brown generally is seen to be simply "saving" Victoria, playing the role of chivalrous knight dutifully defending the honor of his lady queen.

Victoria first mentions Brown in the 1868 *Leaves*, in an entry dated September 1850. Though he is relegated to a footnote, even this early mention shows how devoted Victoria had become by the time she published her first journal extracts:

[Brown] in 1858 became my regular attendant out of doors everywhere in the Highlands. . . . His attention, care, and faithfulness cannot be exceeded; and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable, and indeed, most needful in a constant attendant upon all occasions. He has since, most deservedly, been promoted to be an upper servant, and my permanent personal attendant. (December, 1865). He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race . . . always ready to oblige; and of a discretion rarely to be met with. (128)

This passage may illustrate what Victoria biographer Elizabeth Longford has labeled her lifelong "weakness for the *outré*," her attraction to "exotic" men, which explains her special devotion to men like Brown, Benjamin Disraeli, and her Indian attendant, Abdul Karim—whose intimacy with Victoria later in her life caused even greater acrimony within her circle than did her relationship with Brown (355). Yet the shift from testimonial to ethnography in the passage is also indicative of the shifting frame through which Victoria understands her Highland world and those that live in it. Her assumption that Brown's devotion simply reflects an intrinsic trait of the Highland man suggests that Brown embodies the world she came to love and of which she felt a part. The figure of John Brown in Victoria's journals represents

a particular mode of a racialized nineteenth-century masculinity, which reflects Victoria's own understanding of her gender and political role and which pointedly upends assumptions of national and gender relations that coalesced around "John Brown" in press criticisms of her reign.

THE HIGHLANDS, NATION, AND EMPIRE

Victoria concludes her Highland travelogue on the high note of the victory at Tel-el-Kebir described at the beginning of this chapter. Her description of the events is testament not only to the extent to which Victoria's visits to the Highlands helped her to overcome much of her grief, but also to the ways in which Victoria's account of her life in the Highlands serves to shape the meaning of her rule. In the final scene, Victoria is surrounded by her family and the local community, which once again celebrates a British imperial victory in true Highland fashion:

Here everybody was assembled—all our gentlemen and ladies . . . and all the tenants from the three estates, all our servants, etc. The pipes preceded, playing the "Highland Laddie," Brown and all our other kilted men walking alongside, and before and behind the carriage everybody else close following—and a goodly number they were. We got out at the door, and went just beyond the arch, all our people standing in a line headed by our Highlanders. A table with whisky and glasses was placed up against the house, next to which stood all the ladies and gentlemen. . . . Brown stepped forward and said . . . "Ladies and gentlemen, let us join in a good Highland cheer for the Duke and Duchess of Albany [Victoria's son Leopold and his wife]; may they live long and die happy!" which pleased every one, and there were hearty cheers. (400)

Finally Victoria adds:

A bonfire was to be lit by my desire on the top of *Craig Gowan* at nine, just where there had been one in 1856 [actually 1855] after the fall of *Sevastopol*, when dearest Albert went up to it at night with Bertie and Affie. That was on September 10, very nearly the same time twenty-six years ago! (401)

This last scene illustrates Victoria's instinct to memorialize—and rememorialize—the events of her life.

Homans argues that this scene also reveals the overall imperialist impetus of Victoria's writing: "A repeating of a domestic scene from the past,"

Victoria's last entry concludes her work, "with the reversion of Empire to home." For Victoria, Homans writes,

[a]ll imperial victories are the same, for as we saw . . . the 1856 [*sic*] bonfire was itself in turn a symbolic celebration of the defeat and annexation of Scotland: the site of the bonfire is the cairn built to celebrate the royal family's taking possession of Balmoral, and by extension England's possession of Scotland itself. This "most beautiful country," after all, "is my own." (241)

One bonfire recalls another as imperial victory in Egypt in 1882 stands for victory in the Crimea in 1855, which stands for victory in Scotland, in an endless chain of substitutions that demonstrate the homogeneity of *English* imperialism, within Great Britain and without. This reading of Victoria's writing, however, replicates a too familiar critical picture that elides differences between peripheral cultures within Britain and colonial cultures overseas and that reduces the role of Scotland to one of complacent victim of English colonialism. Victoria is reduced to an embodiment of an imperial "Englishness," and the rich complexity of Victoria's own articulation of her "Britishness," her desire to inscribe herself within the local community around Balmoral as both simple Highland widow and rightful heir to a Stuart past, simply disappears.³⁷ If, however, Victoria's writing can indeed be labeled "imperialist," then the complexity of her thought, her ambivalent relation to the Highlands, suggests that imperialist thought is itself multi-valent and fraught with contradiction. Building a cairn represents an act of Highland appropriation but also illustrates how Victoria makes the Highlands the symbolic "center" of her vision of her imperial reign. Moreover, as much as Victoria takes possession of the Highlands, the Highlands take possession of Victoria. In 1859 Queen Victoria wrote a letter to her oldest daughter just after returning to Windsor from her annual visit to the Highlands:

I must say that (though I know the feeling for "home" prompts you to say it) the appellation of "dear, dear Windsor," coming at this moment, when I am struggling with my homesickness for my beloved Highlands, the air—the life, the liberty—cut off for so long—almost could make me angry. I cannot ever feel the slightest affection or tendre for this fine, old dull place, which please God shall never hold my bones! (quoted in Hibbert, *Queen Victoria* 147)

In this passage, Victoria echoes Anne Grant as she describes the return "home" to Windsor as more an exile from her true "home" in the Highlands.

Yet Victoria's Highland journals also represent a doubling of the queen's imperial voice as she lays claim to speak both for the nation and for her small Highland community.

As did Anne Grant, Victoria makes visible the contestations at the heart of national and imperial consciousness in late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British culture. An idealized space of home and an exotic travel destination on the far margins of the nation, the Highlands make for a unique subject through which to explore ideas about nation and empire, as they inspire a feeling of both distanced superiority and intense belonging on the part of these writers. The Highlands become the imaginative terrain through which both women struggle to define themselves as women, as subjects—and, in the case of Victoria, as sovereigns—of an imperial nation itself composed of many cultures.



NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Sir John Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London* (London: McMillan, 1813). For a recent account, see Alastair Campbell, *Two Hundred Years, The Highland Society of London* ([London]: The Society, 1983).

2. Ronald I. Black labels the Highland Society of Edinburgh the first “Gaelic Academy,” for which Gaelic study remains indebted, as the revivalist commitment of the Highland Society to collect and preserve Gaelic manuscripts made it a crucial institution for the study of Gaelic literature (“The Gaelic Academy: The Cultural Commitment of the Highland Society of London,” *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14, no. 2 [1986]: 1–38).

3. David Daiches describes this as a “disassociation of sensibility” manifested in Scottish literature and the product of long habits of “thinking in one language” (Scots) and “writing in another” (English) (*The Paradox of Scottish Culture: the Eighteenth-Century Experience* [London: Oxford University Press, 1964], 21). Hugh MacDiarmid writes that a dictionary of Scottish biography would reveal “extraordinary contradictions of character, most dangerous antimonies and antithetical impulses, in the make-up of almost every distinguished Scot” (*Scottish Eccentrics*, 1936 [New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972], 284). MacDiarmid terms this condition the “Caledonian Antisyzygy,” adopting a phrase from Gregory Smith’s work *Scottish Literature and Influence*. (Smith borrowed the phrase from Sir Thomas Urquhart.) Tom Nairn warns of the dangers in the land of the Caledonian Antisyzygy: “[T]hat is the realm of an anguished examination of conscience and consciousness, a troubled subjective posturing, to which . . . Scots intellectuals have been prone” (*The Break-up of Britain* [London: NLB, 1977], 150). Kenneth Simpson has described the “split voice” of eighteenth-century Scottish literature as indicative of a pervasive identity crisis. The conflicting imperatives of the literary marketplace and national allegiance gave rise to “Protean Scots,” who were forced to adopt a multiplicity of voices (*The Protean Scot, the Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature* [Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988]).

4. For discussions of the Highland economy of the time period, see Malcom Gray, *The Highland Economy* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957); Ian Carter, “The Highlands of Scotland as an Underdeveloped Region,” in Emmanuel De Kadt and Gavin Williams, eds., *Sociology and Development* (London: Tavistock, 1974); T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofter’s War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); and A. J. Youngson, *After the Forty-Five* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University

Press, 1973).

5. Improvement became the central focus of the Highland Society of Edinburgh, which early on became more interested in farm management than in poetry.

6. See Cairns Craig's discussions of Scottish associations of the Highlands with savagery in *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996).

7. See Ian Duncan, "Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson and the Institutions of English," in *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. Robert Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

8. For Bhabha, the ambivalence at the heart of colonial discourse threatens its stability. "The authority of colonial discourse that I have called mimicry," he writes, "is therefore stricken by an indeterminacy: mimicry emerges as the difference that is itself the process of disavowal." Given the anomalous condition of Scotland in relation to British imperialism, it is perhaps not coincidental that the colonial texts that Bhabha cites as examples (Charles Grant's "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain"; Mills's *History of India*; and Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education") were written by Scots ("Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 [1984]: 235).

9. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6–7. For other studies of nationalism, see John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960); and Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Duckworth, 1983).

10. Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

11. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). For recent studies on Scottish and British identities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see also Leith Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation 1707–1830* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); Ian Duncan, "North Britain, Inc.," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 23 (1995): 339–49; Caroline McCracken-Flesher, "You Can't Go Home Again: James Hogg and the Problem of Scottish 'Post-Colonial' Return," *Studies in Hogg and His World* 8 (1997): 24–41 and "Speaking the Colonized Subject in Walter Scott's Malachi Malagrowther Letters," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 29 (1996): 73–84; Janet Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

12. Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers on the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

13. Baucom, for example, in *Out of Place* traces the subtle shifts in the idea of Britishness through a reading of changing parliamentary definitions of "British" subjectivity. Yet he makes little mention of nationalist pressures in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales that might have contributed to these shifts and continue to play role in legalistic definitions of Britishness.

14. Colley, *Britons* 130. For recent studies of empire's role in making of Great Britain in the eighteenth century, see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Lawrence Stone, ed., *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London: Routledge, 1994). For a recent and controversial reassessment of the British Empire, see Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2003).

15. For recent analyses of Scotland's contribution to empire, see G. J. Bryant, "Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century," *Scottish Historical Review* 64.1 (April 1985): 22–41; T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); (April 1985): 22–41; Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001); Martha McLaren, *British India and British Scotland, 1780–1830* (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 2001); and Helen Smailes, *Scottish Empire: Scots in Pursuit of Hope and Glory* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1981).

16. Devine notes that Scots had a dominant interest in the West Indies sugar trade, and by the 1790s, "the dozen or so most powerful houses in Bengal and Bombay were dominated by Scots merchants. In America, the Scottish tobacco importers ruled the trade; by 1765 Glasgow 'Tobacco Lords' alone accounted for 40% of the British imports total" (*The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* [New York: Penguin, 1999], 121).

17. The Reverend Sydney Smith, for example, wrote that "as long as [Dundas] is in office the Scotch may beget younger sons with impunity. He sends them by the loads to the East Indies and all over the world" (quoted in Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992], 111).

18. *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable, 1932–37), 6:489. Scott's phrase is often quoted in histories of Scottish contributions to empire, yet his metaphor betrays deep-seated paternal anxieties about the imperial project. When Scott learns that officer misconduct in the 18th Hussars, his son Walter's regiment, might lead to its removal from Ireland to India, Scott writes that he would rather his son leave the service altogether than go with the regiment to India. Withholding his consent from his son's request to be posted with his regiment, Scott wrote him in May 1821:

[You will get] neither experience in your profession, nor credit nor wealth nor anything but an obscure death in storming the hill fort of some Rajah with an unpronounceable name . . . or if you live it is but to come back 20 years hence a lieutenant or captain with a yellow face a diseased liver and not a rupee in your pocket to comfort you for broken health. (*Letters* 6:435)

For Scott, posting in India was tantamount to "banishment."

19. In the Highlands, Meek writes, the society eventually had to resign itself to the use of Gaelic, "which gradually began to be employed in SSPCK schools. . . . [A] similar toleration of the use of Indian languages is apparent in its North American activities, especially in the third phase of its activities, after 1760" and a "learning of Indian languages was encouraged among potential missionaries." Donald Meek, "Scottish Highlanders, North American Indians, and the SSPCK: Some Cultural Perspectives," *Scottish Church History Society* 23 (1989): 391.

20. Trumpener situates bardic nationalism in opposition to imperialist "Enlightenment dismissals of Gaelic oral traditions." According to theories of Scottish and Irish antiquaries:

[B]ardic performance binds the nation together across time and across social divides; it reanimates a national landscape made desolate first by conquest and

then by modernization, infusing it with historical memory. A figure both of the traditional and aristocratic culture that preceded English occupation, the bard symbolizes the central role of literature in defining national identity. (*Bardic Nationalism*, xii)

21. Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire*.

22. See for example *Culloden* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1961); *The Highland Clearances* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963); *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt, 1743–1804* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971); and *The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, August 1822* (London: Collins, 1988).

23. For example, in his detailed account of Scott's gaudy, theatrical use of Highland costume and "traditions" during George IV's 1822 Edinburgh visit, Prebble begins each new chapter with an epigraph taken from the testimonies of poor tenant Highlanders recalling the trauma of eviction (*The King's Jaunt*).

24. This line of thought often produces a double irony, when it describes the victimization of colonial natives by Highland settlers. For example, Eric Richards sums the role of émigré Highlanders in North America: "The Highland Scots forced off their ancestral lands in Scotland, were now robbing the American Indians of their own ancestral lands. The ironies of the story multiplied throughout the age of clearances, which mainly began after 1780" (*Highland Clearances* 64).

25. For example, Robert Clyde, in his detailed study of the eighteenth-century "rehabilitation" of the Highlander—who went from rebellious "threat" to heroic "pet"—summarizes the process as a remarkable "replacement of myth with myth"; *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander, 1745–1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995). Charles Withers, in his essay "The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands," though refusing to "separate out the historiographical chaff from the factual grain of Highland history," nevertheless identifies the creation of the Highlands as a "set of myths," which has become "part of the very 'facts' of history itself"; Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, eds., *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 143. In *Imagining Scotland* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995) John R. and Margaret M. Gold survey Sir Walter Scott's seminal role in propagating the "Highland Myth," which determined the motive and frame of reference for travel to the Highlands in the nineteenth century.

26. Myth analyses also cannot account for the ways in which the discourse it identifies as "romance" can be used in resistance to the destruction of traditional social and economic practice in the Highlands. An example is David Stewart's *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* (which I examine more closely in chapter 3). Though Womack dismisses Stewart as a purveyor of Highland "sentimentality" in the nineteenth century, both Donald Macleod and Alexander Mackenzie cite his work as pioneering their own journalistic critiques of clearance. Calling attention to Stewart's work in his own "Gloomy Memories of the Highlands," Macleod writes "[Stewart] has completely vindicated the character of the Highland tenantry, and has shown the impolicy, as well as cruelty, of the means used for their ejection." Alexander Mackenzie, *The History of the Highland Clearances, Containing a Reprint of Donald Macleod's "Gloomy Memories of the Highlands"* (1883; Edinburgh: Meercat Press, 1991), 23.

27. Fiona J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 42. Faring even better within imperial circles was Sir John Macpherson, friend of James and the son of Dr. John Macpherson of Sleat, a recognized authority on Gaelic antiquity and early and ardent advocate of Ossian's

authenticity. The son quickly rose in the Indian administration, becoming governor-general of British India in 1784, and G. J. Bryant has described him as “perhaps the most successful Scot to go to India in the eighteenth century,” whose efforts to promote the interests of other Macphersons (like James) reflected his “strong sense of clan.” Bryant also writes, “Highlanders appear to have predominated among the Scottish gentry in India.” “Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century,” *Scottish Historical Review* 64.1, no. 177 (April 1985): 27.

28. A particular example of a Highlander who moved equally well in English- and Gaelic-speaking cultures was John Campbell of Armaddie, who became Principal Cashier and chief executive of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1745. Known as *Caimbeul a’ Banca* “Campbell of the Bank,” he was a subject of a tribute by the Gaelic poet Duncan Ban MacIntyre. (R. N. Forbes, “John Campbell of the Bank,” *The Three Banks Review* 99 [September 1973]: 49–57). William Mosman’s 1749 painting of Campbell shows him with the money purse and banknotes symbolic of his profession; behind the sitter, however, is a window that reveals his clan territory and the cave in which his Jacobite ancestor had hidden in 1715. Campbell also “chose to have himself painted in full Highland dress of tartan belted plaid shortly after its proscription by an act of parliament.” Hugh Cheape, *Tartan: The Highland Habit* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1991), 23.

29. The role of Highlanders in the outposts in shaping interest in the Highlands is suggested by the correspondence of the Highland Society of London, much of which is occupied with requests to establish chapters of the society overseas. These include several chapters in Canada, Cadiz, Calcutta, Bombay, and Cape Town. A lieutenant colonel writes of establishing a Highland Society of about thirty members “who, tho’ at a distance from their country, prove neither to have forgotten its language nor sentiments” (NLS Dep. 268 Box 1). The society’s list of accounts and receipts shows society funds were disbursed to indigent members of Highland regiments stationed overseas to pay for passage back to Scotland.

30. See for example Leith Davis’s discussion of James Boswell’s mediating role in his *Journal of Tour to the Hebrides* (*Acts of Union* 99–106). See also James Buzard’s analysis of Scott’s mediation of Scottish (Highland) culture for an Anglo-dominated British culture; “Translation and Tourism: Scott’s *Waverley* and the Rendering of Culture,” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 8, no. 2 (Fall 1995): 31–59.

31. Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen, *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

32. Davis, *Acts of Union*.

33. The term is Niall Ferguson’s (*Empire*).

CHAPTER ONE

1. See Colley, *Britons* 117–32.

2. Hugh Blair, the influential professor of rhetoric at Edinburgh University and the author of *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1784), for example, devotes a large section of his *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, bound together with later editions of the poetry, to establishing the epic quality of Ossian. Although he argues that it is impossible to compare two epics separated by culture and a time span of a thousand years, he nevertheless points out what he considers to be the obvious similarities between the poetry of Ossian and of Homer. *The Poems of Ossian and Other Works*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 354–99.

3. See for example, Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*; Davis, *Acts of Union*; Nick Groom, "Celts, Goths, and the Nature of the Literary Source," in *Tradition in Transition: Women Writers, Marginal Texts, and the Eighteenth-Century Canon*, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro and James G. Basker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Susan Manning, "Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literary Nationalism," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 17 (1982): 39–54; Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism* 67–127; and Howard Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

4. Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 145. Susan Manning summarizes the shift: "As the 'assimilationist' ideology of the eighteenth century gave way to the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth, Ossian achieved symbolic value as yet another index of Scottishness, a key to the country's cultural independence and unique traditions following the loss of its political independence"; "Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literary Nationalism" 44–45.

5. Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

6. For an overview of ideas of "race" and "culture" in European thought, see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire* (London: Routledge, 1995). Young argues that the terms are historically mutually constitutive: "Culture has always marked cultural difference by producing the other; it has always been comparative, and racism has always been an integral part of it: the two are inextricably clustered together, feeding off and generating each other" (54). For a discussion of scientific racism and its development in the nineteenth century, see Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (London: Macmillan, 1982). Neither the racist ideas of Macpherson nor of John Pinkerton, MacPherson's antiquarian nemesis, implied rigid biological divisions based primarily on skin color. Both Pinkerton's and Macpherson's theories, however, are attempts to hierarchize racial characteristics. In his *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths* (London: John Nicols, 1787), Pinkerton, while emphasizing that differences among humans are obvious, points to the need for a more "scientific" approach to race classification:

It is a self-evident proposition, that the author of nature, as he formed great varieties in the same species of plants, and of animals, so he also gave various races of men as inhabitants of several countries. A Tartar, a Negro, an American, &c. &c. differ as much from a German, as a bulldog, or lapdog, or shepherd's cur from a pointer. The differences are radical; and such as no climate or chance could produce: and it may be expected that as science advances, able writers will give us a complete system of the many different races of men. (33–34)

For a discussion of one example of the erasure of "Celt" as a marker for "race," as skin color became the determining criteria for racial difference in the nineteenth century, see Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

7. Womack, *Improvement and Romance* chap. 2.

8. As Tejaswini Niranjana emphasizes: "The idea of translation . . . is a metonymy for the desire to achieve transparent knowledge and provide for a Western audience immediacy of access to 'primitive thought.' The desire to translate is a desire to *construct* the primitive world, to *represent* it and to *speak on its behalf*." *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,

1992), 70; emphasis in original.

9. In her examination of U.S. representations of the Native American, Carr argues that the discourse on primitivism is itself inherently unstable and varying and occupied a multiplicity of cultural sites. The task of the critic, therefore, is to recognize this multiplicity, to “map” primitivism onto a particular place and cultural context and to chart its changing imperatives, as “colonialist images and language meet particular historical needs and change with them.” *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789–1936* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 11.

10. “‘Those Scotch Impostors and Their Cabal’: Ossian and the Scottish Enlightenment,” *Man and Nature, Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 1 (London: University of Western Ontario, 1982).

11. For an analysis of the militia issue and Ossian’s role, see John Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985).

12. For a discussion of Irish reactions to Ossian, see C. O. Halloran, “Irish Recreation of the Gaelic Past: The Challenge of Ossian,” *Past and Present* 124 (1989): 69–95.

13. For recent discussions of Macpherson’s historiographical ideas see Davis, *Acts of Union* 74–106, and Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism* 219–46.

14. Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism* 123–45, 185–210. For a work that traces this debate and its origins in detail, see William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

15. The polarity of the antiquarian debate on Scotland’s ethnic origins is reflected in the personal attacks on the respective writers, a situation that is often replicated by modern-day critics. For example, Trevor-Roper, in “The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” calls Macpherson “an insolent pretender,” while commending Pinkerton for being the “implacable enemy of the historical and literary falsifications of . . . Macpherson” (27). Trevor-Roper, who reiterates much of Pinkerton’s ideas, calls him “the greatest Scottish antiquary since Thomas Innes” (27). Weinbrot is sympathetic to Pinkerton’s pro-Goth assertions in the face of what he calls the “ugliness” of James Macpherson’s work, which was “a popular but intellectually dishonest, occasionally plagiarized, and morally corrupt version of British and European history.” Howard Weinbrot, “Celts, Greeks, and Germans: Macpherson’s Ossian and the Celtic Epic,” in *1650–1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Kevin L. Cope (New York: AMS Press, 1994), 1:11. On the other hand, Colin Kidd declares an end to the “legend” that Macpherson was “a complete charlatan,” while describing Pinkerton as “more outrageous in his racial prejudices” than any other of the anti-Celt antiquarians of the time (*Subverting Scotland’s Past* 252).

16. Pittock finds the roots of Macpherson’s “sentimentalism” in the “post-Culloden experience of Jacobite culture, while his use of landscape derived from the fertility images (and their opposite) associated with the fate of the Stuart kings.” Sublime Ossianic landscape, Pittock argues, not only looked forward to an emerging Romantic aesthetic but also looked backward to the ideology of Jacobitism (*The Invention of Scotland* 78). On the other hand, Colin Kidd sees in Macpherson’s historiography a “Celtic whiggism,” “British in scope,” which emphasized the progressive development of legal and governmental institutions throughout the ancient societies of Britain (*Subverting Scotland’s Past* 224, 223).

17. Though the standard spelling of the name given to these people was in Pinkerton’s time and is in the present “Picts,” Pinkerton uses “Piks” to denote what he describes as the “indigenal” name of the people. “Piks,” he argues, is the proper Gothic term, whereas “Picts” is merely the “Latin epithet, from their painting themselves” (*Enquiry* 1:xli–xlii).

18. In his “Advertisement” to the *Enquiry*, Pinkerton even apologizes for the repetitiveness of his anti-Celticism, if not its intensity:

[M]any late authors, by applauding their [the Celts’s] savage life, and contempt of every civilized art, seemed to allow the dreams of Rousseau, which would restore mankind to a state of nature, that is, to lawless rapine and slaughter.

The author regrets not that the Celtic prejudices were attacked, but that the attack was too often unnecessarily repeated; and no argument, or fact, has hitherto arisen, which in the least affects the documents, and deductions, displayed in this *Enquiry*, or in the dissertations annexed. (*Enquiry* 1:10)

19. *Enquiry* 1:268. In keeping with the structure of their debate, Macpherson argues exactly the opposite. The ancient Celtic people, Macpherson argues in his *Introduction*, were marked by the special political power that women had in their society:

[T]he high spirit of the Celtic women gave them more influence over our ancestors than our modern beauties derive from all their elegant timidity and delicacy of manners. The most unpolished Germans, according to Tacitus, thought that something divine dwelt in female minds: Women were admitted to their public deliberations, and they did not despise the opinions or neglect to follow their advice. To such a pitch had some branches of the Celtae carried their veneration for the fair sex, that, even in their life-time, a kind of divine honours was paid to women. The ancient Britons were particularly fond of the government of women. Succession, where it was established at all, went in the female as well as in the male line. . . . (207–208)

20. For example, Europeans embraced wholeheartedly the idea that Scotland was the land of Celtic Ossianic heroes. A Macpherson biographer describes the excitement of Herder as he anticipated a planned trip to Britain:

When I still cherished in my mind the thought of a journey to England, you little know how I counted on these Scots! One glance, I thought, at the public life, the stage, the whole lively spectacle of the English people. . . . Then the great change of scene,—to the Scots!—to Macpherson! There I would fain hear the living songs of a living nation, witness all their influence, see the places that the poems tell of, study in their customs the relics of this ancient world, become for a time an ancient Caledonian. (quoted in J. S. Smart, *James Macpherson: An Episode in Literature* [London: David Nutt, 1905], 7–8)

On the other hand, Thomas Babington Macaulay, whose father was himself born in the Highlands, as late as the 1850s provided a vision of the Gael in his *History of England* (ed. Hugh Trevor-Roper [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968]), that seems a direct descendent of Pinkerton’s. Describing a hypothetical seventeenth-century “dinner party” in the Highlands from the perspective of a “civilized” outside observer, Macaulay writes:

At supper grain fit only for horses would have been set before him, accompanied by a cake of blood drawn from living cows. Some of the company with which he would have feasted would have been covered with cutaneous

eruptions, and others would have been smeared with tar like sheep. His couch would have been the bare earth, dry or wet as the weather might be; and from that couch he would have risen half poisoned with stench, half blind with the reek of turf, and half mad with the itch. (363)

21. Hudson writes that by the late eighteenth century even Homer, whose work had long been considered the greatest example of epic writing, had been claimed by “oralists.” In 1769 Robert Wood published *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*, which claimed that not only was Homer illiterate, but that he “had even derived some *advantage* from being part of a pre-literate world.” “‘Oral Tradition’: The Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Concept,” in *Tradition in Transition: Women Writers, Marginal Texts, and the Eighteenth-Century Canon*, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro and James G. Basker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 174; emphasis in original.

22. Penny Fielding, *Writing and Orality: Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fiction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 9. Macpherson, though he generally defended oral culture in his public writings, seemed at times unsure of the reliability of his oral sources. He is often critical of the influence of later generations of bards, because they seemed to him to have corrupted the tales with the introduction of giants and fairies and supernatural phenomenon, all reflecting the character of what Macpherson saw as a superstitious, post-Ossianic Gaelic culture. The limitations of the oral tradition, as Macpherson describes them, determined his task as translator in his own mind. If the poetry of Ossian had been corrupted through the ages, in both their textual and oral forms, then it was Macpherson’s task to “purify” them by restoring the original intent of its author. Thus, what his detractors of the time saw as outright forgery—and what modern critics may judge as creative adaptation—Macpherson saw as simple restoration, a restoration born of his primitivist ideas concerning the character of Highland society.

23. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 78. See also Bernard Cohn, “The Command of Language and the Language of Command,” *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 4 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985).

24. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). De Certeau describes the writings of a sixteenth-century missionary, Jean De Lery, who traveled to the coast of Brazil to record the oral culture of the Tupinambous. Lery returned to France to write a narrative of his experience among the natives, to transform their spoken words into a text in French. By converting the orality of the native into textuality, Lery’s “ethno-graphy” transforms them: “Ecclesial election is turned into a Western privilege; originary revelation into scientific concern for upholding the truth of things; evangelization into an enterprise of expansion and return to one’s self” (219).

25. Quoted in Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, 80. Such well-meaning efforts to preserve indigenous oral traditions in print such as Macpherson’s often met with failure. For example, John Reid’s *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica* (1832; Naarden: Anton W. Van Bekhoven, 1968) lists a “copy of the Gaelic contained in Sir John Sinclair’s splendid edition of Ossian” that was

printed at the expense of Sir J. Macgregor Murray and other gentlemen, for the purpose of being distributed among the Highlanders to preserve as much as possible their ancient chivalric spirit, by giving them an opportunity of *reading* the valorous exploits of their ancestors, as the *reciting* of them had then nearly ceased. Accordingly there was a copy sent for the use of every parish school in

the Highlands. These copies were addressed to the care of the parish ministers.
 . . . (99; emphasis in original)

However, local residents in the Highlands, it seemed, proved resistant to the reworking of their traditions:

[W]hether from a curiosity to have a copy of Ossian themselves in the original, or from a supposition that the book would be useless to most of the raw disciples of a rustic school, many of these copies were never given up to their destined purpose, and we yet occasionally meet with the identical copies thus meant for general use, and for promoting a laudable object, lying dormant on the dusty shelves of a manse library, with the donatory ticket still fresh upon some, and taken off others! (99)

26. For a discussion of Ossian's role in transforming eighteenth-century ideas on testimony as evidence, see Matthew Wickman, "The Allure of the Improbable: *Fingal*, Evidence, and the Testimony of the 'Echoing Heath,'" *PMLA* 115, no. 2 (March 2000): 181–94.

27. Walter Scott, "Review of the *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian* and Laing's edition of *The Poems of Ossian*," *Edinburgh Review* 6 (1805): 433. Scott's own opinion concerning the controversy surrounding Ossian is one of confirmed skepticism but with an overall sympathy to Macpherson's work. As he wrote in his review of the *Report*:

[W]e believe no well-informed person will now pretend that Ossian is to be quoted as historical authority, or that a collection of Gaelic poems does any where exist, of which Macpherson's version can be regarded as faithful, or even a loose translation. (429)

Kidd suggests that Scott was in large part critical of Ossian and Macpherson's historiographical project. Scott, Kidd writes, "ridiculed those Highlanders who 'adopted the poems of Ossian as an article of national faith.' Old and new forms of national mythology were in varying degrees absurd and obnoxious" (*Subverting Scotland's Past* 257–58). However, Kidd admits that "Scott was an admirer of Macpherson as a poet . . . and that strong Ossianic influences are apparent in Scott's own poetry, notably *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* . . . and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*" (258 n.). Indeed, in his review of the *Report*, Scott seems to acknowledge the intense cultural need of many Scots to believe in the authenticity of Ossian's poetry while at the same time knowing that the poems could not be authentic:

[W]e are compelled to renounce the pleasing idea, that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung, [but] our nationally vanity may yet be flattered by the fact, that a remote, and almost a barbarous corner of Scotland, produced, in the 18th century, a bard capable not only of making an enthusiastic impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe. (462)

Scott establishes the grounds for the later critical assessments of Macpherson's work, shifting them from questions of authenticity, and praising instead the aesthetic achievements of Macpherson.

28. For contemporary analyses of Macpherson's use of Gaelic ballad sources, see Derick S. Thomson, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1952), and Donald E. Meek, "The Gaelic Ballads of Scotland: Creativity and Adaptation," in *Ossian Revisited*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

29. Tacksman, or *fir-tacsas*, were a class of lower gentry in traditional Highland society. In practice they acted as middlemen between tenants and landowners: They owned leases on land that they managed and supervised, collecting rents from tenants who worked for them. However, by the mid-eighteenth century the economic transformation of the Highlands was gradually eliminating this class, and, as Devine writes in *Clanship to Crofters' War*, "the deliberate destruction of subtenure became a central theme of landlord policy from the 1770s" (34). Because of this, tacksman and other lower gentry represented the majority of Highland emigrants to North America in the mid-1770s.

30. Before publishing *Resurrection of the Ancient Scottish Language*, Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair had worked for the SSPCK in the Highlands in its efforts to "civilize" Gaeldom by educating its people in English. "[Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair]," Sorensen writes, "straddled a nexus of conflicting intercultural contacts in the eighteenth-century Highlands" (*The Grammar of Empire* 19).

31. Stafford emphasizes the role of cross-cultural tensions in Macpherson's work, seeing them largely in spatial terms. She writes, "Macpherson's own life shows a constant struggle to reconcile the conflicting loyalties to North and South" (*The Sublime Savage* 7).

CHAPTER TWO

1. The term "Celtification" to describe Scott's national agenda was first coined by his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart, in his biography of Scott (*Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 7 vols. [Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837–38]).

2. Nairn sees in Scott's romanticized Celtification the roots of the "Tartan Monster." This apparition, along with "kailyardism," is the prime bearer of Scottish "subnationalism," which he describes in psychological terms as infantile and grotesque, composed of sentimental "kitsch images" and a "deforming nostalgia" by which Scots forever look backward to premodern Scotland, as they are incapable of looking to the future (*The Breakup of Britain* [London: NLB, 1977], 116, 114). David McCrone, in his study of the critique of "Scotch myths" of Tartanry/kailyard and the search for an "authentic" Scottish national feeling, sees in this search a dominant, but ultimately misguided, discourse in Scottish culture. This discourse premises an overly internalist account of Scotland, which ignores the inherent fragmentation of modern national culture ("Representing Scotland: Culture and Nationalism," *The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture, and Social Change*, ed. David McCrone, Stephen Kendrick, and Pat Straw [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989]). In a similar vein, Cairns Craig takes up Scott's use of Highland "iconography." Instead of the manifestation of deformed or inauthentic national culture symptomatic of shortcomings in the Scottish national psyche, Craig sees their use as the expression of the "dialectic of Scotland's relation with England," a manifestation of Scotland's peripheralization in relation to an English "core." In the weird logic of peripheralization, the most "marginal" space of Scotland became central to its identity (*Out of History* 116).

3. Some critics acutely have described the unfolding variances in Scott's image of the Highlands, tracing a continuously evolving and shifting picture from the one that *Waverley* offered. Christopher Harvie and Caroline McCracken-Flesher, for example, cite the two

stories in volume 1 of the *Chronicles of the Canongate* as representing Scott's strongest reworking of his Highland material. Harvie sees in the pessimism of "The Two Drovers" and "The Highland Widow" a metaphor for the predicament of Scotland as a whole, as they depict "a collapsing Scottish culture . . . being replaced by an even more imperilled industrial 'civilization'" ("Scott and the Image of Scotland," *Sir Walter Scott: The Long Forgotten Melody*, ed. Allan Bold [London: Vision Press, 1983], 38). More recently, McCracken-Flesher sees a marked change from Scott's earlier facilitation "of his nation's economic and political advancement within union." By the mid-1820s, after the collapse of his finances, Scott was beginning to draw "the political and the personal into a depressing picture of Scotland's socio-economic subjection" and so paints a bleak picture in "The Highland Widow" of the Scottish male who seeks advancement under the matrix of English power only to find "they stand to be permanently exiled from their Scottish identity" ("Pro Matria Mori: Gendered Nationalism and Cultural Death in Scott's 'The Highland Widow,'" *Scottish Literary Journal* 21, no. 2 [November 1994]: 71, 76).

4. For a recent study of Scott's involvement in the theater, which, the study argues, forces us to rethink Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation as the "imagined community," see Cairns Craig, "Scott's Staging of the Nation," *Studies in Romanticism* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 13–28.

5. For studies on the influence of social theorists of the Scottish Enlightenment on Scott's thinking, see Duncan Forbes, "The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott," *Cambridge Journal* 7, no. 1 (October, 1953): 20–35; Peter D. Garside, "Scott and the Philosophical Historians," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, no. 3 (July–September 1975): 497–512; Graham McMaster, *Scott and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Murray G. H. Pittock, "Scott as Historiographer," in *Scott in Carnival*, ed. J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt, 145–53 (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1993); and Cyrus Vakil, "Sir Walter Scott and the Historicism of Scottish Enlightenment Philosophical History," in *Scott in Carnival*, 404–418.

6. While awaiting the authoritative publication of the Edinburgh Edition of *Rob Roy*, I have cited the easily accessible Oxford Classics edition of the novel edited by Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). This quotation appears on p. 5.

7. Sutherland observes "at Edinburgh University in 1789–90, Scott attended the classes held by Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Smith's chief contemporary commentator and popularizer." In the introductory epistle of *The Fortunes of Nigel* Scott takes issue with Smith's distinction of unproductive and productive labor. (Belles lettres falls into the latter category, as its value is fixed in no permanent commodity.) Instead, Sutherland writes, Scott imagines the writer as both an investor of capital and as a worker "whose creative effort is one stage in the book's manufacture." "Fictional Economies: Adam Smith, Sir Walter Scott and the Nineteenth-Century Novel," *ELH* 54, no. 1 (1987): 101.

8. Duncan, introduction to *Rob Roy* xviii. The economic mode of thought in the novel is often seen to reinforce the dialectic of Scott's thinking, as it represents the rational in opposition to the romantic. Bruce Beiderwell, for example, locates the tension between commercial values and the brutal code of Highland honor in the conflicted position of the novel's protagonist, Frank Osbaldistone, who both benefits and recoils from the horrible vengeance code of the Highlands. *Power and Punishment in Scott's Novels* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 45–61.

9. Though Lockhart would later dismiss the seriousness of Scott's national grievances, characterizing the letters as an "escape valve" for Scott to let off a little steam, McCracken-Flesher has seen in the letters Scott's attempt to speak the colonized Scottish subject, to give

voice to the nation made voiceless by English cultural and economic domination (“Speaking the Colonized Subject in Walter Scott’s Malachi Malagrowther Letters”). Acknowledging his nation’s own deformity, Scott embodies it by speaking through the grotesque form of one Malachi Malagrowther, the lineal descendent of the disfigured Sir Mungo Malagrowther, who appears as James VI’s whipping boy in *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822).

10. For a detailed discussion of Scott’s role in the bank note controversy, see Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). See also N. T. Phillipson, “Nationalism and Ideology,” *Government and Nationalism in Scotland*, ed. J. N. Wolfe (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), 178–85.

11. In his study of Highland-Lowland migration, Charles W. J. Withers writes:

temporary movement was an important means of monetary income and familiarised many with social customs beyond their native parishes. . . . The picture we must hold of rural Europe in this period is, then, one both of considerable rural movement rather than that enduring but now discredited image of a ‘static’ countryside, and of regional economies connected one to another through such population movement. (*Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700–1900* [East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998], 8)

12. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters’ War*, 242. Further, Devine states that “Highlanders comprised an estimated 6 percent of the population of Greenock in the early eighteenth century but around 30 percent by the 1790s, and the number of Gaelic-speakers in the town had risen from less than 500 in the middle decades of the century to over 5,000 by its end” (242).

13. Indeed, Devine reports that Highland migration patterns were regionally defined and that “it was the urban areas of the Western Lowlands which attracted most Highlanders and the Gaelic communities in Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley were much greater than those of the eastern towns.” Moreover, “the majority of migrants came from parishes and districts on the Highlands frontier and only a relatively small fraction, until the later decades of the century, from the more distant areas of the far north and west” (*Clanship to Crofters’ War* 242).

14. Peter D. Garside discounts Ferguson’s influence, suggesting that Scott would have found Ferguson’s work “too dry and abstract” (“Scott and the Philosophical Historians” 499). As a young man, however, Scott knew Ferguson and in later life would become close friends with Ferguson’s son, who, at Scott’s instigation, was made Keeper of the Scottish Regalia during the king’s visit.

15. For a discussion of the importance of the debate surrounding the foundation of a national militia on Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, particularly Ferguson, see Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, 200–209 and *passim*.

16. Prebble, *The King’s Jaunt*; Finley, *Turner and George the Fourth in Edinburgh, 1822* (London: Tate Gallery, 1981).

17. John Galt’s “The Gathering of the West” attempts to recuperate the Radical reputation of the Glasgow working class by bringing them into the fold of the loyal populace. The section titled “Paisley Bodies” depicts the deliberations of a group of weavers with radical sympathies (a group of weavers had been the main instigators of riots in the city at the height of the radical agitation) deciding whether to go to Edinburgh to see the king. One of them suggests that a “revision” of radical principles seems necessary as times have changed

and that the way to encourage reform in parliament is to allow the king to come before the Scottish people (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 12 [July–December 1822]: 311).

18. The phrase is taken from a 1587 Act of Parliament, which acknowledged the ambiguity of kinship ties in relation to clan allegiances in Highland society. R. A. Dodgshon writes that the act recognized clans as integrated by “both pretense of blude” and “place of thair duelling [dwelling]” In other words, “though there is an element of ambiguity about precisely what is meant by these phrases . . . they leave no doubt over the essentially synthetic character of clans as kinship groups.” “‘Pretense of Blude’ and ‘Place of Thair Duelling’: The Nature of Highland Clans, 1500–1745,” in *Scottish Society, 1500–1800*, ed. R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 169.

19. The king’s London tailor provided a detailed description of his costume:

[The king wore a] fine gold chased head ornament for Bonnet, consisting of Royal Scots Crown in miniature, set with Diamonds, Pearls, and Rubies and emeralds, supported on a wreath of chased gold Thistles surrounding a sea-green emerald, large sized. His Goatskin Highland Purse had a massive gold top and nine rich gold bullion tassels, whilst his powder horn was gold-mounted and attached to a massive gold chain. His dirk was inlaid with gold and encased in a crimson velvet scabbard richly ornamented with chased gold mountings with the Royal Arms of St. Andrew, Thistle, etc. He had a fine basket-hilted sword and a pair of Highland pistols. His costume included 61 yards of Royal Sattin Plaid, 31 yards of Royal Plaid Velvet, and 17 1/2 of Royal Plaid Casemere. (quoted in John Telfer Dunbar, *The Costume of Scotland* [London: B. T. Batsford, 1984], 79)

20. Lockhart’s own disdain for Highland culture is reflected in his *Peter’s Letters to His Kinsfolk*. Full of character descriptions of Scots literati of the time (including Scott) the work makes almost no mention of Highlanders, save of Scott’s piper and of an anonymous Edinburgh caddie, one “D—d M’N—,” whose only function in the city is to “perform all little offices [a stranger] may require during the continuance of his visit.” A common figure among Edinburgh streets in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Highland caddie is an insignificant comical figure in Lockhart’s account, a lowlife immigrant who counts for nothing in the cultural doings of the nation’s capital city. Lockhart’s mocking description pokes fun at the commonness of Highland names. The concealment of the caddie’s true name is not a concealment at all, since “Donald McDonald” was thought stereotypically to be a name so common in the Highlands that it could be used to connote all Highlanders. In *Peter’s Letters to His Kinsfolk*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), 2:241.

21. By 1822 Wilson’s had made a considerable fortune satisfying the ever-increasing public demand for new and different tartan setts. Only around 1819, however, did the firm begin to standardize its product, though even then, tartan design still was determined largely by commercial expediency, not historical memory as demand necessitated a proliferation of differing “clan” patterns. See Cheape, *Tartan*.

22. Chatterjee cites a standard Bengali dictionary to list the different senses of *jāti* in India. In addition to its rough rendering into English as “caste,” the term also can be used to signify birth origin (“such as musalman by birth, Vaisnav by birth, a beggar by birth [*jātite musalmān, jātbhikhāri*]”), classes of living species (“such as human *jāti*, animal *jāti*, bird *jāti*, etc.”), lineage or clan (“such as Arya *jāti*, Semitic *jāti*”), or human collectivities “bound by

loyalty to a state or organized around the natural and cultural characteristics of a country or province . . . such as English, French, Bengali, Punjabi, Japanese, Gujarati, etc.” *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 221.

CHAPTER THREE

1. While awaiting the authoritative publication of the Edinburgh Edition of *Waverley*, I have cited the easily accessible Penguin edition, Andrew Hook, ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972). This quotation appears on p. 142.

2. For recent studies on masculinity see James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne, eds., *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994); Tim Fulford, *Romanticism and Masculinity: Gender, Politics, and Poetics in the Writings of Burke, Coleridge, Cobbett, Wordsworth, De Quincey, and Hazlitt* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991); James A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); and Peter Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979).

3. For a summary of the transformative effects of war with France, see Colley's introduction in *Britons*.

4. Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, 150. For recent histories of the Highland soldier see Jenni Calder, *The Story of the Scottish Soldier 1600–1914* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1987); Diana M. Henderson, *Highland Soldier, a Social Study of the Highland Regiments, 1820–1920* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989); Andrew Mackillop, “For King, Country, and Regiment? Motive and Identity in Highland Soldiering 1746–1815,” in *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900*, eds. Steve Murdoch and A. Mackillop (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 185–211; Heather Streets, “Identity in the Highland Regiments in the Nineteenth Century: Soldier, Region, Nation,” in *Fighting for Identity*, 213–36; and Stephen Wood, *The Scottish Soldier* (Manchester: Archive Publications, 1987).

5. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994).

6. For other studies of the image of the soldier in the nineteenth century, see J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: the Military in British Art 1815–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), and Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

7. Though the elite commanders of the Napoleonic Wars—men like the Duke of Wellington, for example—were adulated upon their return from the war, the returning common British soldier often was considered a dangerous destabilizing force let loose upon the countryside. Amid fears that soldiers used to quell unrest back home would more likely join the “radical mob” rather than defeat it, Wellington characterized the average army recruit as “‘the scum of the earth.’ . . . the ‘most drunken’ and ‘worst’ specimens of humanity.” Only during the Victorian era, Edward M. Spiers suggests, would a “transformation occu[r] in attitudes towards the army.” After the Crimean War, he writes, “[t]he valour and heroism of the troops had been widely admired. It became a commonplace to assert that the nation should, in the post-war years, recognize its responsibilities towards the rank and file” (*The*

Army and Society 1815–1914 [London: Longman, 1980], 76–77).

8. Cynthia Enloe argues that Scottish Highland soldiers—along with Gurkha, Sikh, and Punjabi soldiers incorporated into the British Indian army after the Indian Mutiny—are an example of “ethnic soldiers.” The historical uses of such soldiers by the modern nation-state, Enloe argues, “reveal how central state regimes have used, and continue to use, ethnicity to maintain political order and their own authority through particular manpower conceptualizations and manipulations” (*Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* [Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980], ix). Ethnic groups dependent on soldiery as a profession are thus placed firmly within the state’s sphere of control. For more discussion of representations of Highland and “native” soldiers after the Indian Mutiny, see chapter 5.

9. Diana Henderson reports that the majority of officers in Highland kilted battalions before the mid-nineteenth century were Scots. Gaelic speakers are entirely another matter. Though “it could well be the case that [officers from the Highlands] were amongst the native speakers . . . [t]here is little evidence . . . that any officers in the Highland battalions used Gaelic in ordinary conversation or communication” (*Highland Soldier, a Social Study of the Highland Regiments*, 119–20). David Stewart is a notable exception.

10. Lockhart records that James Skene of Rubislaw credited the creation in 1797 of an Edinburgh force of mounted volunteers to “Scott’s ardour” (*Memoirs*, 1:258). Scott was not alone in his enthusiasm, as Scotland’s professional classes volunteered disproportionately to the ranks of volunteer militias. Devine reports that “by the end of 1803 more than 52,000 Scots had enrolled in 51 regiments out of the 103 established for the whole of the United Kingdom” (*The Scottish Nation* 215). Even so, some of Scott’s young lawyer friends found his military zeal rather ridiculous. Lockhart records that one wrote to another: “Not an idea crosses [Scott’s] mind, or a word his lips, that has not an allusion to some d——d instrument or evolution of the cavalry. . . . After all, he knows little more about wheels and charges than I do about the wheels of Ezekiel” (*Memoirs* 1:263).

11. For studies of gender and Scott’s novels, see Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), and Judith Wilt, *Secret Leaves: the Novels of Walter Scott* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). Chris Ferns argues that *Waverley* establishes an opposition between a feminized English-speaking, civil Lowland space and a masculine, Gaelic-speaking, primitive Highlands. Crossing the border into the Highlands, she writes, is to enter a “distinctively masculine realm” (“That Obscure Object of Desire: Sir Walter Scott and the Borders of Gender,” *English Studies in Canada* 22, no. 2 [June 1996]: 151). See also Margaret Bruzelius, “‘The King of England . . . Loved to Look upon a Man’: Melancholy and Masculinity in Scott’s *Talisman*,” *MLQ* 62, no. 1 (2001): 19–41; and Lisa Hopkins, “Clothes and the Body of the Knight: The Making of Men in Sir Walter Scott’s *The Talisman*,” *Wordsworth Circle* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 21–24. For a discussion of homoeroticism in Scott’s work, see John J. Burke Jr., “The Homoerotic Subtext in Scott’s *The Fortunes of Nigel*: The Question of Evidence,” *Clio* 29, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 295–314.

12. Buzard has described *Waverley* itself as a paradigmatic example of Scott’s enactment of a fictional “autoethnography”: “‘Scotland’ representing itself” to an audience of English-speaking Britons (“Translation and Tourism”). While I take Buzard’s point that *Waverley* is an important site of a distinct Scottish identity that signifies only in terms of an imperial “Britishness,” I take issue with labeling the work an autoethnography, at least in the sense in which Pratt coined the term and which I discuss in the context of Stewart’s work later in this chapter. As Scott himself was careful to state several times, his knowledge of Highlands was

limited to summer visits as a boy and occasional travel. Scott's knowledge and use of Gaelic was quite limited. For a discussion of Scott's imperfect and stereotypical presentation of Gaelic, see Graham Tulloch, *The Language of Sir Walter Scott* (London: A. Deutsch, 1980).

13. Elizabeth Watterson, "Beginning a 'Life': Opening Movement in Scott's *Napoleon* and Galt's *Byron*," *Scottish Literary Journal* 7 (May 1980): 42. In its detailed accounts of the military achievements, defeats, and strategies of France, its allies, and its enemies—from the conditions leading to the fall of the ancien régime to Napoleon's exile and death on Elba—*The Life of Napoleon* (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1827) investigates the ways in which cultural and social environments shape, and are shaped by, masculine behavior in war. For example, Scott's discussion on the reasons the levee en masse managed to produce a large-scale but effective fighting force is prefaced with a summary of the conditions of French boyhood. The French boy, Scott writes, "adopted the habits most necessary for a soldier with singular facility and readiness" and "[military duty] is as natural to him as to his father or grandfather before him" (2:382).

14. Robert C. Gordon provides a superb summary of Scott's detailed analysis of these forces, detecting a "significant bias" in Scott's fascination with, and deep-felt admiration for, fighting men he alternately designates "primitive" or "patriarchal warriors" ("Scott among the Partisans: A Significant Bias in His *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*," in *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, ed. Alan Bell [Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1973], 115–33).

15. In 1725, four independent Highland companies were established. More companies were added a few years later and were collectively known as "the Watch, the Highland Watch, or *am Freiceadan Dubh* [the Black Watch]." The Black Watch would be incorporated into the British army in 1739 as the 43rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot. In 1739, the regiment became the 42nd, with which Stewart marched in Edinburgh after Waterloo in 1816. The Black Watch survives today as the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) and presided over the handover ceremonies in Hong Kong in 1997.

16. For recent discussion of the role of notions of French effeminacy in British nationalist discourse in the latter half of the eighteenth century, see Jeremy Black, *Natural and Necessary Enemies: Anglo-French Relations in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Michèle Cohen, "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England," in *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 44–62; Fulford, *Romanticism and Masculinity*; and Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism*, 80–84, 145–48, and *passim*.

17. For a discussion of the idea of *duthchas* in traditional Scottish Gaelic society, see Dodgshon, "'Pretense of Blude,'" and Macinnes, "Scottish Gaeldom: The First Phase of Clearance."

18. The sympathetic cultural relativism of the judges' pronouncement is echoed in Scott's writing elsewhere. The judge who condemns the Highlander Robin Oig MacCombich to the gallows makes much the same pronouncement. Scott reiterates the case for Highland exculpation in his own history of the rebellion in *Tales of a Grandfather*, third series.

19. Gordon points out that Scott contrasts the character of primitive warriors with those of the middle and upper classes. Summarizing Scott's view of the Spanish ruling class, for example, Gordon writes: "[T]he nobles are decadent because of inbreeding, the clergy is bigoted and superstitious, the middle class—especially its professionals and intellectuals—respond to clerical obscurantism by flying off into skepticism. Only the peasantry remain as possible saviours of the kingdom" ("Scott among the Partisans" 117). For Scott, it is the

peasant fighter, able to “part with the advantages of civilized society upon . . . easy terms,” who is the true embodiment of the fighting will of the nation (117).

20. Robert Clyde calls the *Sketches* the “first history of the Highland regiments” (*From Rebel to Hero* 151). Prebble writes that interest in Highland society after the king’s visit prompted several newspapers in England to publish serial accounts of *The Highland Clans and Their History*, much of which was lifted directly from the *Sketches* (*The King’s Jaunt* 360). Two of the most popular and influential works on the Highland clans (with extensive discussion of the Highland regiments) in the nineteenth century, James Browne’s *A History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, 4 vols. (Glasgow: A. Fullarton, 1838), and John S. Keltie’s *A History of the Scottish Highlands*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: A. Fullarton, 1875), acknowledge Stewart’s groundbreaking work and borrow from the *Sketches*.

21. Women make only the briefest of appearances in the *Sketches*. In a section on chastity, for example, one of the few where Stewart singles out Highland women, he merely reports that “if a young woman lost her virtue and character, then she was obliged to wear a cap, and never afterwards appear with her hair uncovered, in the dress of virgin innocence” (1:89).

22. All references are to the first edition, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1822) unless otherwise noted. This quotation appears in vol. 1, p. 7.

23. Not in first edition (2:528 in third edition).

24. Mackenzie, in his 1883 *History of the Highland Clearances*, includes a section of the *Sketches* in his list of “eminent authors . . . born and bred in the country” who comment on the Highland Clearances. Macleod is heavily indebted to Stewart’s description of tenant evictions on the Sutherland estate and, in particular, the hard-heartedness of estate agents Patrick Sellar and James Loch (Sellar actually stood trial for homicide). Calling the *Sketches* an “excellent work I beg to call [to] the attention of every friend to truth and justice, and especially those who take an interest in the fate of expatriated tenantry,” Macleod writes “[Stewart] has completely vindicated the character of the Highland tenantry, and shown the impolicy, as well as cruelty, of the means used for their ejection” (Mackenzie, *History of the Highland Clearances* 23).

25. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

26. This was incorporated into narrative proper in second edition, 2:420; 2:494 in third edition.

27. This was incorporated into narrative proper in second edition as a footnote, 2:422; footnote to 2:496 in third edition.

28. The necessity of such an attitude serves to rationalize in the *Sketches* the seemingly unambiguous historical instances of Highland *disloyalty*, which Stewart details in his regimental histories. In his narration of the 1746 mutiny and desertion of several hundred Highland soldiers from his own Black Watch regiment, for example, Stewart places the blame for this widespread act of Highland disobedience squarely on the shoulders of commanding officers, who, Stewart argues, had not yet learned to control their men. As the regiment was stationed in England after Prince Charles’s defeat, Stewart recounts, the men heard rumors that—rather than going back to Scotland as they had been promised—they were bound for the American colonies, the “Botany Bay of that day.” In the absence of an appropriate bond of trust between officer and Highland rank and file, who “believ[ed] themselves deceived and betrayed,” the “unfortunate act” of Highland mutiny was “the result of their simplicity, in allowing themselves to be deceived, rather than of any want of principle, [which] was sufficiently proved by their subsequent conduct” (1:236).

29. Arjun Appadurai uses this term to describe the challenges to notions of territoriality

in a globalized world culture. Migration, Appadurai writes, has created “complex conditions for the production and reproduction of locality, in which ties of marriage, work, business, and leisure weave together various circulating populations with various kinds of ‘locals’ to create localities that belong in one sense to particular nation-states but are, from another point of view, what we might call translocalities.” “Sovereignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography,” in *The Geography of Identity*, ed. Patricia Yaeger (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 44.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. For a general bibliography of Indian Mutiny writings see Janice Ladendorf, *The Revolt in India 1857–58: An Annotated Bibliography of English Language Materials* (Zug, Switzerland: Inter documentation, 1966). For one on literature of the rebellion see Brijen K. Gupta, *India in English Fiction 1800–1970: An Annotated Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1973). For recent cultural studies on the Indian Rebellion, see Máire ní Fhlathúin, “Anglo-India after the Mutiny: The Formation and Breakdown of National Identity,” in *Not on Any Map*, ed. Stuart Murray (Exeter, Devon: University of Exeter Press, 1997); Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988); and Bernard Cohn, “Representing Authority in Victorian India,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

2. As Bernard Cohn writes:

To the English from 1859 to the early part of the twentieth century, the Mutiny was seen as a heroic myth embodying and expressing their central values which explained their rule in India to themselves—sacrifice, duty, fortitude; above all it symbolized the ultimate triumph over those Indians who had threatened properly constituted authority and order. (“Representing Authority in Victorian India” 179)

3. The Indian Rebellion figures prominently in Indian nationalist historiography of the early part of the twentieth century, as the first great struggle of Indian resistance against British colonial rule. Vinayak Savarkar’s historiography *The Indian War of Independence* (1909), for example, declares its object as “to inspire his people with burning desire to rise again and wage a second and a successful war to liberate their motherland” (quoted in S. B. Chaudhuri, *English Historical Writings on the Indian Mutiny* [Calcutta: World Press, 1979], 170). For more recent studies on the Indian Rebellion see Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), and Anita Desai, *Peasant Struggles in India*; and S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies 1857–59* (Calcutta: World Press, 1957). For a general account see Christopher Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny 1857* (London: Penguin, 1980). For studies of historiography on the rebellion see Chaudhuri, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny 1857–59* (Calcutta: World Press, 1965) and *English Historical Writings*.

4. A notable exception is John William Kaye’s authoritative *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1865), which, following its title, labels the rebellion the “Sepoy War” throughout.

5. Heather Streets, *Martial Races: the Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the “Manly Englishman” and the “Effeminate Bengali” in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

6. The ratio of native troops to British troops went from its pre-rebellion figure of 8:1 in May 1857 to 2:1 in early 1860. This change in the ratio was in direct response to the rebellion and was maintained until World War I. The rebellion also produced a general increase in the number of British troops stationed in India. Before the rebellion, the Indian army was composed of 40,000 British troops and 300,000 native troops. In 1860, the number of British troops increased to 60,000. By 1908 the total number of British troops had risen to 75,702. This number represents half the total British military force of the time (Spiers, *The Army and Society* 121–38).

7. Martin Green in his study of the imperial adventure novel credits Scott as an important progenitor of the form who introduced new materials “derived from romantic history” into the adventure narrative he inherited from Defoe (*Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* [New York: Basic Books, 1979], 98). Dawson describes *Waverley* as knitting together psychic split in British masculinity between adventure and domesticity (*Soldier Heroes* 66–76).

8. Grant’s praise of the unique esprit de corps of the Highland fighting men forms the basis for his own nationalist agenda in support of land reform of the Highlands later in the century. In his introduction to *The Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders* (London: George Routledge, 1881), written in 1880, Grant echoes David Stewart and laments the “de-Highlandization” of Highland regiments, which he links to disruption in the Highland social fabric:

The modern mode of recruiting in the Lowlands—a necessary consequent to the depopulation of the Highlands (where now more than two millions of acres are deer forest) and the new system of linked battalions—have changed the general tone of the Highland regiments, so clanship is almost forgotten in the ranks, and Gaelic unknown, or nearly so. (n.pag.)

Grant himself became a member of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, and his critique can be read in the context of increased agitation for tenant rights in the nineteenth century, appearing in Highland newspapers such as Alexander Mackenzie’s *Celtic Magazine*, the *Inverness Courier*, and the *Oban Times*. Devine reports that J. B. Balfour referred to “‘a considerable body of vague and floating sentiment in favor of ameliorating the crofters condition’ which had influenced several members of the Liberal Party (*Clanship to Crofters’ War* 224). Such sentiment contributed to the passage of the Crofters’ Holdings Act of 1886, which stabilized the pattern of land relations in the Highlands.

9. For definitive studies of Highland costume and its history, see Cheape, *Tartan*, and John Telfer Dunbar, *The Costume of Scotland and History of Highland Dress* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1962).

10. Grant offers an alternative, more detailed, account of the Highland bare knee, which also provides a more conventional (and more emphatic) phallic substitution in the description of the Stuart family piper:

The piper, though of low stature, was of powerful, athletic, and sinewy form, and although nearly sixty, was as fresh as when only sixteen . . . his knees, “which had never known covering from the day of his birth,” where exposed by the kilt were hairy and rough as the hide of the roe-buck; his plaid waved

behind, and a *richly mounted dirk, eighteen inches long*, hanging on his right side, completed his attire. (*The Romance of War*, 4 vols. [London: H. Colburn, 1847–48], 1:21; emphasis added)

11. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Highland uniform inspired not fear as much as fascination. Dunbar reveals that during the occupation of Paris after Waterloo, “the French were fascinated by the appearance of Highlanders strolling along the boulevards, and soon the print and caricature sellers were doing a tremendous trade in comic and serious illustrations of the kilted troops.” As a Scottish observer of the time wrote of a visit to the Opera:

In one general dance four of the performers were elegantly dressed as Highland soldiers: the latter much excited the Parisians. Their *entré* was loudly applauded, and the exact imitation of their dress occasioned much mirth. ‘*Vive les Écossais!*’ was the cry. It is pleasing to see how much these brave men make friends even of their enemies.

Tartan dresses and feather bonnets even became the rage of Paris fashion. (*The Costume of Scotland* 173–74)

12. The belief that the mere sight of the Highland uniform could inspire terror in the enemy formed the basis for arguments against periodic attempts by the army at abolishing the kilt in favor of a more “practical” uniform. As early as 1804, a colonel in the 79th Highlanders argued that, in addition to allowing for the free circulation of air and allowing flexibility during forced marches, the kilt “has, upon many occasions, struck the enemy with terror and confusion” (quoted in Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress* 162).

13. Quoted in James Cromb, *The Highland Brigade: Its Battles and Its Heroes* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1891), 146. For a recent history of the Highland bagpipe, see William Donaldson, *The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society, 1750–1950* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 2000). Unfortunately it was sometimes difficult for a piper to continue to find distinguished work after his discharge from the army. A Highland regimental officer during World War I describes a “piper Finlayson,” who was given a Victoria Cross “for his fearless playing of the pipes in open as his regiment stormed their position.” The officer regrets to record that the piper later became “the popular hero for some years of the music halls.” Quoted in Victor Kiernan, “Scottish Soldiers and the Conquest of India,” in *The Scottish Soldier Abroad: 1247–1967*, ed. Grant Simpson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 104.

14. R. S. F. In *Notes and Queries* of May 22, 1858 quotes “The Calcutta correspondent of the *Nonconformist*,” who sums up the unlikelihood of the story this way:

We have read with some surprise and amusement that wonderful story published in the English papers about Jessie Brown and the slogan of the Highlanders, in Havelock’s relief of Lucknow. I have been assured by one of the garrison that it is pure invention. 1. No letter of the date mentioned could have reached Calcutta when the story is said to have arrived. 2. There was no Jessie Brown in Lucknow. 3. The 78th Highlanders neither played their pipes nor howled out the slogan as they came in; they had something else to do. (quoted in *Notes and Queries*, May 22, 1858, 425)

15. For evidence as to the veracity of the Jessie Brown story, provided by a sergeant who served in the 93rd Highland regiment and who was in Lucknow during the rebellion, see

William Forbes-Mitchell, *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny* (London: Macmillan, 1894). Though Mitchell himself can offer no firsthand knowledge of Jessie Campbell at Lucknow, he does testify to the existence of one Mrs. Gaffney, who gave an eyewitness account published in the *Calcutta Statesman*. “Mrs Gaffney,” he writes, was the husband of a “Sergeant Gaffney, who served with [him] in the Commissariat Department in Peshawur, just after the Mutiny” (116). Mitchell does offer firsthand evidence that the Highlanders did indeed carry their bagpipes into Lucknow.

16. Jenny Sharpe summarizes the crucial interplay of Victorian gender ideals in making sense of the events of the mutiny:

The representation of the English lady as an institution that had been desecrated plays into a code of chivalry that called on Victorian men to protect the weak and defenseless. Presupposing their women to inhabit a domestic space that was safe from colonial conflict, these men responded as good soldiers, fathers, and husbands. They reasserted claim over what was rightfully theirs by protecting the victims and punishing the offenders. In this manner, the knightly virtues of honor, a veneration of women, and protection of the weak were invoked so that the army *as an institution* could act as a punishing avenger. (*Allegories of Empire* 76; emphasis in original)

17. The well at Cawnpore would later become the site of an elaborate memorial to the British men, women, and children who lost their lives in the rebellion. The memorial was just one of many that the British would erect in the wake of the rebellion.

18. ní Fhlathúin writes, “[T]he Anglo-Indian[s] real[ized] that their actions in controlling Indian insurrection were sometimes such that the critical distance between native barbarity and colonizing civilization became unobtainable” (“Anglo-India after the Mutiny” 67).

19. The Scottish artist Sir Joseph Noel Paton’s narrative painting *In Memoriam*, and the controversy that surrounded its first appearance, neatly demonstrates both the special symbolic force and the ambiguity that the figure of the Highland soldier brought to British representations of the rebellion. Paton’s narrative painting, first presented to the Royal Academy in late May 1858, is a triptych of three British women in a cantonment amid the chaotic clutter of strewn gloves, hats and other items of European clothing. Just visible in the upper-left-hand corner of the painting stands the unmistakable figure of the Highland soldier, stepping across the threshold of the open doorway. Even though the Highlander is (fittingly) on the margin of Paton’s work, the figure dramatically sums up the iconography of the Highland soldier: the rough red beard, exposed knee below the belted tartan kilt, the sporran, dirk, and the Glengarry bonnet. Yet it is important to note that Paton’s heroic Highlander did not appear in the version of *In Memoriam* that he had originally submitted, as the original version had sparked such severe controversy that the artist had been forced to withdraw it. At the upper left of the original version of the painting, an open door reveals, in the words of the *Illustrated Times*, the “advancing Sepoy” with his “blood-spotted legs, and his clenched musket . . . ferocity glaring in the eye, and bristling in the beard bursting into the residency compound” (quoted in Hichberger, *Images of the Army* 174). Paton’s solution to the controversy was to revise the work by replacing the image of rapacious natives with the image of Highland regimental soldiers, thereby transforming the painting’s narrative: the moment of British female dishonor and failure becomes instead the moment of victory and deliverance. The painting no longer suggests Cawnpore, but Lucknow, where British military force relieved the beleaguered civilian population and began the long campaign to

regain colonial control. After Paton's revisions, the painting proved a great success, and was frequently reproduced in engraving. Brian Allen, "In Memoriam," *The Raj: India and the British, 1600–1947*, ed. C. A. Bayly (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990), 241.

20. "Miss Wheeler" was the daughter of the British commander at Cawnpore. After Nana Sahib took the city, Miss Wheeler was said to have been determined to die rather than face sexual dishonor at the hands of Nana Sahib's forces. In one version of her story, after first shooting down five of her captors with a revolver, she threw herself into the well. Seven years after the rebellion it was proved that Miss Wheeler had not died but, after having married a sowar and converted to Islam, she was still in India living with her husband's family. For a discussion of the story of Miss Wheeler, see Sharpe, *Allegories* 70–73.

21. Only a little more than one hundred years before the Indian Mutiny the male Highlander was considered a rapacious, though sometimes incompetent, sexual predator. A satirical poem of the early eighteenth century recounts the misdeeds of a Highland host "who came down to destroy the Western Shires in 1678":

This red-shank [Highlander] from no good pretence,
Pursued the Lass ben to the spence
And aiming at some naughtie deed,
Pull'd up his plaid and ran with speed,
She with a fleshcruik in her hand,
Advised him a back to stand,
But he presuming for to struggle
Occasioned a huble bubble
The story is something od
She with the Flesh-cruik gript his cod,
So held and rag'd and made him squil
And ay cry out the Deu' 1 the Deu' 1,
But getting of away he flees,
While blood was spreading down his Thighs
For several dayes he kept to his Bed
And when he got up he strid led
From either hands they get small thanks
Who are the authors of such pranks. (quoted in William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song* [Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988], 51)

22. One notable example of a personal account of the common Highland soldier's experience in the Indian Rebellion is Forbes-Mitchell's *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny*. Forbes-Mitchell provides a straightforward account of both the brutality of the war and the less-than-heroic actions of Highland soldiers, who, while on a drunken rampage, looted the town after they captured it. Neither does Forbes-Mitchell claim any special intrepidity on the part of Highland soldiers. His is an unromantic account of the daily marching, fighting, and burying of the dead.

23. For the most recent study of martial race ideology, see Streets, *Martial Races*. See also Lionel Caplan, "Martial Gukhas," in *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, ed. Peter Robb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Cynthia Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980); Richard G. Fox, *Lions of the Punjab* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985); David Omissi, "'Martial Races': Ethnicity and Security in Colonial India 1858–1939," *War & Society* 9, no. 1 (1991):

1–27; and Pradeep Barua, “Inventing Race: the British and India’s Martial Races,” *Historian* 58, no. 1 (Autumn 1995): 107–16.

24. Streets emphasizes the direct influence of prominent military writers in popularizing martial race theory back home. “Late-century popular militarism,” she writes, “reflected the role that self-interested and media-savvy military figures [particularly Lord Roberts] played in helping to shape the values and ideologies of a more aggressively imperial state” (*Martial Races* 117).

25. Given assumptions as to the special prowess of Highland regiments, it is especially ironic that, as the century progressed, fewer and fewer of their new recruits were actually from the Highlands. Clearance, emigration, and the increasing urbanization of British society all took their toll on recruiting in the rural Highlands. For example, as Spiers reports:

Whereas the 42nd Foot (the Black Watch) had found 51 per cent of its recruits in the Highlands in 1798, it secured only 9 per cent from that region in 1830–34, and a bare 5 per cent in 1854. Like other Highland regiments, it had to seek an increasing proportion of its men from the Lothians and Glasgow. (*The Army and Society* 48)

Yet with few exceptions, the fact that in Highland regiments one was more likely to hear working-class Glasgow slang than Gaelic was generally overlooked in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. See the introduction to Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); and idem, “The World and the Home,” *Social Text* 10, no. 2–3 (1992): 141–53.

2. The former printed for the author by J. Moir, Edinburgh. The work appeared, with some revision, omission, and reordering, in 1808 as *The Highlanders and Other Poems* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme). A third edition was published by the same in 1810. Grant in her *Memoir* would later claim a subscription list of 3,000, but as Pam Perkins reports, the actual number was (a still respectable) 2,251 (“Critical Essay on Ann Grant,” *Scottish Women Poets of the Romantic Period*, November 7 2003, <http://www.alexander-street2.com/SWRPLive/bios/S7024-D001.html>). *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland* was published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

3. The sixth and last edition of the work appeared after her death and was edited by the only one of her children to outlive her, her son, J. P. (John Peter) Grant. He reordered the letters chronologically and added letters previously appended to the *Essays* and his own notes (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1845).

4. John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720–1820* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1997), 12. On Highland travel and tourism, see also Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*.

5. See, for example, Maria H. Frawley, *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994); Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 119–56; Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998); Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference:*

An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism (London: Routledge, 1991); and Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 75–110.

6. Ghose, *Women Travellers in India*, 15. Ghose gives the example of the mid-century Indian travelogue of Emily Eden, whose “ironic gaze debunks colonial myths (such as the civilizing mission) and operates as a distancing strategy toward the ideological norms of her own society.” Nevertheless, Ghose adds, the “silence on colonial reality in [Eden’s] text works to contain its subversive implications” (*Women Travellers in Colonial India* 12).

7. Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*.

8. Elizabeth Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19.

9. For recent discussions on the picturesque which emphasize the extreme range of definitions associated with the term beginning in the late eighteenth century, see the collection of essays in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

10. Though their role in the British West Indies was at first less important than that of the Irish, Devine writes, the Scots soon caught up “and surpassed them in numbers, especially in commercial and plantation ownership.” Scots became particularly influential in Jamaica, “which produced more sugar than all the other British islands combined by the 1770s and where in 1771–5 Scots accounted for 40 per cent of the inventories after death above £1,000” (*The Scottish Nation* 120).

11. Christian Isobel Johnstone’s mixture of sentimental narrative and running commentary on Highland folkways in *Clan-Albin*, for example, shows the influence of Grant’s domestic ethnography. Andrew Monnickendam notes that Johnstone “intersperses her fiction with ethnography along the lines of her contemporary Ann [sic] Grant’s *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*,” the publisher of which also brought out *Clan Albin*. Introduction to Christian Isobel Johnstone, *Clan-Albin: A National Tale*, ed. Andrew Monnickendam (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003), vii.

12. In a note to her poem “The Highlanders, or Sketches of Highland Scenery and Manners with Some Reflection on Emigration,” Grant provides a footnote on the particular lament of Highland emigrants, which seems to echo in the Highlands long after they are gone: “The words ‘*Ha pill, ha pill, ha pill, mi tuillidh*,’ signify, ‘We return, return, return, no more.’ The Author has heard it played to two parties of emigrants marching towards the sea” (*The Highlanders and Other Poems* 20). Scott adopts the lament (in English and Gaelic) to end his essay on the state of the Highlands in his review of *The Culloden Papers* (*Quarterly Review* 14 [January 1816]: 283–333). In *Clan-Albin*, Johnstone describes the former home of Highlanders forced to emigrate: “this is the glen whose every echo was ringing—‘*We return, we return, we return no more!*’” (adding a footnote providing much the same particulars as does Grant’s).

13. The ambivalence of Grant’s work as a travelogue is layered onto the generic tensions of the work, which presents itself as an unmediated day-to-day account of Grant’s life. On the one hand, as Pam Perkins has described, informality is demanded of a readership whose interest in the work is, in part, a voyeuristic desire to glimpse the private world of a woman. On the other hand, the text also reveals the desire of an author to establish her authority and to consciously craft her narrative (“Anne Grant and the Professionalization of Privacy,” *Authorship, Commerce, and the Public: Scenes of Writing, 1750–1850*, ed. Caroline Franklin, E. J. Clery, and Peter Garside [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002]). The constraints of literary production perhaps were felt more acutely by Scottish women in the small but heated culture of letters in Scotland in the Romantic period, and the obstacles met by women

writers in Edinburgh literary culture remarked on by Grant. She ascribes the silence of the *Edinburgh Review* with regard to the *Letters* to the chauvinism of its head, Francis Jeffrey. While praising his “structure of mind and marked acuity as reviewer” and having dined often in his company, she laments that Jeffrey “treats female genius and female productions with unqualified scorn, never mentioning anything of the kind but with a sneer” (*Memoir* 1:81).

14. In a letter to a Glasgow friend, Grant compares her own cultural tolerance with that of “Misses” who express “disgust and wonder” at any “custom or dress they are not used to.” Grant writes smugly “I now think plaids and faltans just as becoming as I once did the furs and wampum of the Mohawks, which I always remember with kindness” (*Letters* 1:73). For Grant, acculturation is a simple act of cultural code switching.

15. See Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 197–240.

16. In the sixth edition, 2:206. The letter from which this passage is taken does not appear in earlier editions of the *Letters*, but is appended to the *Essays* (2:230–365).

17. In the sixth edition, 2:207. See n.16.

18. In the sixth edition, 2:208. See n.16.

19. The frequent practice of war among primitive societies, Ferguson writes in the *Essay on the History of Civil Society*,

tends to strengthen the bands of society, and the practice of depredation itself engages men in trials of mutual attachment and courage. What threatened to ruin and overset every good disposition in the human breast . . . tends to unite the species in clans and fraternities; formidable indeed, and hostile to one another, but in the domestic society of each, faithful, disinterested, and generous. (101)

20. Fosterage as an example of the strength of community bonds in the Highlands is adopted by later writers such as Johnstone: Her Moome plays a key role in ensuring the continuance of the clan in *Clan-Albin*, by raising the orphan Norman Mac-Albin and (along with other female characters) aids in restoring his birthright as heir of the clan. For a recent analysis of the importance of the fosterage in creating a sense of community, in both a nationalist and imperialist register, in *Clan-Albin* and other works, see Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 217–218. Grant also remarks in the *Essays* on the importance of *male* fosterage in the Highlands, in the form of *tuit-fhears* or “guardian uncles” (2:110).

21. In the first edition, 2:97, but omitted from subsequent editions.

22. In an entry toward the end of her narrative dated April 1803, however, Grant disappointingly reports that her efforts to educate her children in Gaelic have not been completely successful. After an illness in the family required a long stay in Bath away from her youngest children, Grant writes, “One misfortune I have to lament; my little boy speaks nothing but English. I am so provoked at his losing the native tongue, though it appears to be the only loss which my family sustained in my absence” (3:177–78).

23. Grant’s *Memoir* reveals an indirect connection between her and Victoria: Grant writes of meeting Victoria’s cousin, Augustus Frederick, the son of the Duke of Sussex, in 1816. After discovering that she is the celebrated Mrs. Grant of Laggan, Augustus “flew across the room,—said I was one of the persons in Scotland he most wished to see, and kissed my hand rapturously—yes, rapturously.” The poetry of *The Highlanders*, he said, had awakened “his feelings and enthusiasm for Scotland at a very early age” (*Memoir* 2:162).

24. For recent studies on the paradoxes of Victoria's reign, see Nancy Armstrong, "Monarchy in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 22 (2001): 495–536; Alison Booth, "Illustrious Company: Victoria among Other Women in Anglo-American Role Model Anthologies," in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, ed. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837–1876* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and "Victoria's Sovereign Obedience: Portraits of the Queen as Wife and Mother," in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, ed. Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, introduction, in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, ed. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Cynthia Huff, "Private Domains: Queen Victoria and Women's Diaries," *Auto/Biography Studies* 4, no. 1 (Fall 1988): 46–52; Adrienne Munich, "Good and Plenty: Queen Victoria Figures the Imperial Body," *Victorians Institute Journal* 28 (2000): 5–24 and *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago, 1990). For an overview of recent critical approaches to Queen Victoria, see Laurie Langbauer, "Queen Victoria and Me," in *Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Kucich and Dianne F. Sadoff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), and Alison Booth, "Millennial Victoria," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 29, no. 1 (2001): 159–70.

25. The peculiarities of Scottish national costume is the focus of a satirical tract published in New York under the pseudonym Kenward Philip entitled *John Brown's Legs or Leaves from a Journal in the Lowlands* (New York: Norman L. Munro, 1884). The work mocks Victoria's journal style and unwavering concern for Brown's health: "A dreadful calamity has happened to disturb the serenity of our Life in the Highlands. My servant John Brown, while attending me yesterday in a walk to Kschruballantachtwister, stubbed his toe. Poor dear Brown! How he suffered no pen can describe!" (2). A pamphlet appearing in 1867 entitled *John Brown, or the Fortunes of a Gillie* shows a confident Brown leaning on the British crown in an imitation of the Tomahawk cartoon, but in the pamphlet, Brown is surrounded by "admiring ladies dressed in rich national costumes" (quoted in Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* [London: Virago, 1990], 82–83). Beneath the illustration is Johnson's famous quote on expatriate Scots, "The noblest prospect which a Scotsman ever sees is the high road that leads him to England," suggesting that the residue of eighteenth-century English Scottophobia persisted well into the nineteenth.

26. Margeret Homans writes, "The death of Albert occasioned not only the abrupt end of Victoria's self-representations in public spaces but also her adoption of various substitute forms of royal representation, notably the publication of books originally produced for private circulation" (*Royal Representations* 115).

27. By the mid-nineteenth century, ease of transportation and the packaging of mass holiday excursions, particularly those arranged by Thomas Cook, had transformed Highland travel. As Gold and Gold report, Cook's first Scottish tours commenced in 1846, four years after Victoria's first trip to the Highlands. During the first twenty years of Cook's special excursions, begun in 1866, forty thousand people visited Scotland on Cook's trains, which by the 1850s provided a stop at Balmoral (*Imagining Scotland* 101–104).

28. Queen Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands: From 1848–1861*, ed. Arthur Helps (London: Smith, Elder, 1868), 50–51. The *Leaves* had been in private circulation for three years. When the first edition was published, a member of her circle, Sir John

Elphinstone (a Scottish lord-in-waiting) was one of the first to see its potential in remolding the queen's image among the public and encouraged a cheap edition, the "sooner the better" (quoted in Tom Cullen, *The Empress Brown* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969], 118). A less expensive second edition came out soon after the first. For consistency's sake, I cite the fancier edition for both works. Unless otherwise noted, all italics are in the original. (Victoria's style is to italicize all place names.) *More Leaves* was translated into Gaelic: *Tuilleadh Dhuil-leag Bho M' Leabhar-Latha*, trans. Mairi Nic Ealair (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1886).

29. The utter dependence on Scott for Victoria's understanding of the Highlands is reflected in the library catalogue at Balmoral. At one point, Elizabeth Longford reports, the library held "32 *Ladies of the Lake*, 12 *Rob Roys*, and 26 guidebooks" (and little of anything else) (*Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed* [London: Harper & Row, 1964], 372). In addition, Highland guidebooks of the period often provided their readers with descriptions of sites they were most interested in visiting, many of which could of course be found in Scott's novels. As Gold and Gold describe, sales of Highland guidebooks and Scott novels fed on one another in the Victorian era (*Imagining Scotland*).

30. Adrienne Munich summarizes the cultural paradox of Victoria's reign as "the apparent contradiction of a devoted wife, prolific mother, and extravagant widow who is also Queen of an Empire upon which the sun never sets" ("Queen Victoria, Empire, and Excess," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 6, no. 2 [Fall 1987]: 265). For a study that examines the way Victoria's journal in particular worked to "bolster the monarchy by displaying the intimate circle of the Queen, her husband, her children at 'home,' and thus inspiring gratitude and loyal affection," see Rebecca Steinitz, "Travel, Domesticity and Genre in Victoria's *Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*," *Victorians Institute Journal* 29 (2001): 149–68. See also Margaret Homans, "'To the Queen's Private Apartments': Royal Family Portraiture and the Construction of Victoria's Sovereign Obedience," *Victorian Studies* 37, no. 1 (1993): 1–41.

31. Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 23. Visuality is the critical component that allows a monarchical pageantry to function in Fujitani's analysis. "Imperial pageantry," he writes, "was part of a cultural apparatus that helped fashion Japan's modern emperor into a transcendental subject, one who could be imagined as casting a single and centralizing gaze across all the nation and into the soul of the people" (24). In addition to describing the "inverted ocular relationship," Fujitani argues for the historicization of ritual, in contrast to anthropologists like Clifford Geertz, whose work on the subject suggests that rulers use ritual because it places them in a cultural framework that is always extant, already accepted by all the people. Instead Fujitani calls for an understanding of ritual which emphasizes that "elements in the symbolic dimension of politics can be as much invented as inherited" (23).

32. While Balmoral was being renovated, Albert ordered that a prefabricated shed, of a type he had seen at the Great Exhibition, be installed as a temporary ballroom. Manufactured in various styles by Edward T Bellhouse and Company of the Eagle Foundry in Manchester, the shed had been designed to temporarily "house emigrants who were leaving Scotland for Canada or Australia as a result of the Highland clearances" (Delia Millar, *Queen Victoria's Life in the Scottish Highlands* [London: Philip Wilson, 1985], 59). Homelessness for one group of people in the Highlands thus provides the circumstances for home improvement for another.

33. As Homans points out, this is a misappropriation of the tradition, as cairns are usually associated with death in the Highlands (*Royal Representations* 140). Victoria, however,

suggests a more generalized act of remembering, of memorialization, which is therefore not entirely inappropriate.

34. Arthur Helps, Victoria's editor, suggests the queen's relation with her subjects is a maternal one. Describing Victoria's tendency to avoid digression in her conversations with the public, he writes, "[W]henver there is an exception to this rule, it arises from her majesty's anxious desire to make some inquiry about the welfare of her subjects . . . thus showing . . . that she is, indeed, the Mother of her People . . ." (*Leaves* xiii). Cynthia Huff argues that the *Leaves* scripts a Victorian imperial "imagined community" by reinforcing the maternal relation between the Queen and her "family." Huff, however, does not address the ways in which Victoria situates this "motherhood" within pre-existing Highland clan relations ("Scripting the Materimperium: The Queen's Highland Journals, Colonial Women's Diaries, and the Victorian Imagined Community," *Prose Studies* 24, 1 [April 2001]: 41–62). From an alternative perspective, Adrienne Munich, in her discussion on Victoria's increasingly "capacious body," writes, "Nineteenth-century romantic habits of figuring nature as a nurturing mother . . . prepare for Victoria's apotheosis as the very image of British global dominance and the figure of good and plenty—also a symbolic representation of plenty of goods" ("Good and Plenty" 17).

35. Donald Macleod, for example, though he doesn't accuse Victoria of willful ignorance, makes a special plea to the queen to "preserve that noble [Celtic] race from extirpation, and becoming extinct, and to protect them from violence, oppression, and spoliation to which they have been subjected for many years" (*Gloomy Memories of the Highlands*, in Alexander Mackenzie, *The History of the Highland Clearances* [1883; Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1991], 135). Ironically, Macleod's particular target is the estate of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, which saw a great number of evictions in the early nineteenth century and which Victoria recounts in her journals visiting several times, making no mention of its troubled history. In *More Leaves*, Victoria does include an account given by the Duke of Argyle on the "semi-barbarous" system of runrig in which plots of arable land were assigned to tenants by lot each year. Victoria remarks that "only two villages of the kind are in existence in the Highlands," but makes no commentary on the fate of the older system, except to say that the "inhabitants are very exclusive, and hardly ever marry out of their own villages" (303). A reporter for the *Northern Ensign*, who witnessed forced eviction in Strath Carron in 1854, wrote that the royal cipher "VR" burned into the wood of the police truncheons caused the people to believe "that Her Majesty sanctions, nay, encourages and authorizes these evictions" (quoted in Cullen, *The Empress Brown* 53). For an overview of social protest in the Highlands in the nineteenth century, see Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War* and *The Scottish Nation* 413–417; and Richards, *The Highland Clearances*.

36. Victoria contrasted the favorable racial traits of the Highlander with those of the unruly Irish. In her mind the essential "disloyalty" of the Irish was the chief characteristic that set them apart from their fellow "Celts" across the Irish Sea. Constantly fearful of Fenian assassination plots in the 1860s, Victoria exasperatingly remarked that the Irish lower orders "had never become reconciled to English rule, which they hate! So different from the Scotch who are so loyal" (quoted in Longford 360). Victoria's answer to this challenge to racial logic was to listen to Albert, who vaguely attributed Scottish superiority to an admixture of Scandinavian blood. The only solution to the Irish problem, Victoria wrote in a letter to her daughter, was a "new infusion of race" (quoted in Longford 366).

37. Elizabeth Langland, for example, in her otherwise fascinating account of the use of Victoria's image in the "developing narrative of Englishness," poses the question whether a female monarch "can be made to embody an Englishness that is articulated through the

public school ethos.” Langland’s study emphasizes the multiple meanings of Englishness in the Victorian age, but does not account for the ways in which Englishness defined itself in opposition to alternative national identities within Britain (“Nation and Nationality: Queen Victoria in the Developing Narrative of Englishness,” in *Remaking Queen Victoria* 17).



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